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THE COLONIAL MISSIONS IN VENEZUELA[1]

I am deeply conscious of the privilege I enjoy in speaking to the American Catholic Historical Association, and I accept the responsibility very humbly. I fear that I may overreach myself, however, in attempting to speak to you at this time on the missions in Venezuela. Measured by the archives I have yet to explore, my investigation of this subject has just begun. Several years ago I became interested in the missions in colonial Venezuela, while I was investigating the history of the Church in that country under the Republic. At that time I began the exploration of the materials on the missions found in Caracas. Since then I have continued my study in the published records of the missions found in the Library of Congress and other collections in the United States.[2]

[1] Paper read at the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 30, 1936, Providence, Rhode Island.

[2] Chief among these published records are Rionegro, Froilán, *Relaciones de las misiones de PP. capuchinos en Venezuela, 1650-1817*, 2 vols. (Seville, 1918); Ruíz Blanco, Matías, *Conversión en Píritu, Colección de libros raros*, vol. II (Madrid, 1892); Caulín, Antonio, *Historia geográfica, natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucía* (Madrid, 1779); Gumilla, José, *El Orinoco ilustrado: historia natural, civil y geográfica de este gran río y sus caudalosas vertientes* (Madrid, 1741); Gilli, Filippo Salvadore, *Saggio di storia americana; o sia storia naturale, civile, e sacra de regni e delle provincia spagnuole di Tierra Firme*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1741); Rivero, Juan, *Historia de los misiones de los llanos de Casanare y los ríos Meta y Orinoco* (Bogotá, 1883); Blanco, J., and Ramón Azpurúa, *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del*

These records are both considerable and highly important, but small in volume compared to the whole. Last May I went to Spain to study the colonial Church, including the missions, in the several archives in that country. After two months' work in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, the Civil War stopped my study. I have gone far enough to get a glimpse at least of the rich resources that await the investigator in Spain, in Rome, and in Venezuela; and to be convinced that no group of the founders of Hispanic-American civilization merits so well the recognition of students and writers of history as these heroic "crusaders of the cross" in Venezuela, as in other parts of America.[3]

To appreciate the special difficulties under which the missionaries in Venezuela labored one should recall first of all the opening scenes of the Spanish adventure in this land. It was a chapter of almost unrelieved tragedy for the Indian, and, as it turned out, for the Spaniard, too. In the east, along the coast of Cumaná, slave traders and pearl fishers occupied the stage for a generation, Ojeda and Ocampo being chief actors. Indians were seized and sold for labor in the Islands; others were used in exploiting the oyster beds for pearls, an enterprise which was very profitable to the Spanish for several decades, but one which Las Casas pronounced a "hell on earth for the Indian." To the west in the region of Coro came the German Welsers in 1529 under grant of Charles V. Their treatment of the Indian was reputed to be worse than that of the Spaniard. Before they were retired in 1556, much of the western region was despoiled of its population in the slave trade. Into the interior went various expeditions in search of El Dorado, the members of which were not tender toward the natives. Then for a space there fell upon the land the terrible Lope de Aguirre, who apparently exceeded all in his

Liberator, 14 vols. (Caracas, 1875-1877), vol. I; Strickland, Joseph, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question between Venezuela and British Guayana from the Capuchin Archives in Rome* (Rome, 1896).

[3] In attempting to speak on a subject of this scope I have limited myself to giving only a survey or outline of it, not an analysis. Even as a survey it is incomplete. I hope that it is suggestive of the possibilities for productive scholarship in this field.

cruelty to both Spaniard and Indian. These bold men made known the land, but they left the stage badly set both for the future colonizers and for the missionaries. They had exploited and abused the Indian, but had failed to conquer him, leaving him thus a menace to those who came afterward. In their plundering they had free rein, since Spain paid relatively little direct attention to the conquest or government of this region for a half century or more.

Missionaries had entered Venezuela early in the sixteenth century to convert the Indian and to protect him from the exploiters. In 1513 two Dominicans, Juan Garcés and Francisco de Córdoba, came to the coast of Cumaná and began to preach the Gospel to the Indians, entering fearlessly without defense of any sort.[4] A slave raid led to their murder, the Indians holding them accomplices. Monasteries established on the same coast in 1518 by Dominicans and Franciscans met a similar fate following expeditions by Ojeda and Ocampo in 1520 and 1521. Attempts of the religious to enter Guayana in the sixteenth century had no more encouraging outcome.

In the meantime a few Spanish settlements began to appear on or near the coast—Coro, Barquisimeto, Tocuyo, Caracas, Barcelona, Cumaná, and Santo Tomé, being the most notable. These towns were established at great human cost to the Spaniards and only by the virtual extermination of the more vigorous Indians, a conclusion deplored by the conquerors, who wished to use their labor. The heroic resistance of the chiefs, Guaicaipuro and Paramaconi, to Losada and Garci-González is of epic quality; their defeat and death finally secured the foundation of Caracas, dated usually from 1567. Surviving Indians in the neighborhood of these Spanish cities were granted in encomienda to agricultural entrepreneurs and settled in villages on their estates. Regulars, usually Franciscans, began to serve as doctrineros in these villages through lack of secular clergy.[5]

[4] Rójas, Arístides, *Estudios históricos: Orígenes venezolanos* (Caracas, 1891), I, 38-71.

[5] Archivo general de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas del gobernadores, legajo 193, letter of Governor Sancho de Alquiza to the King, March 20, 1608.

The conquest of the coast had cost a century's effort; attempts to occupy the interior by armed force failed entirely. Geography was against the Spaniard—a terrain of deserts, mountains, lakes, marshes, tortuous river courses, into which the Indians escaped. Division of the natives into numerous tribes and the lack of a central power, the defeat of which would have given possession of the country, made efforts to subdue them baffling, exasperating to the point of madness. As Depons later observed: "Every cacique waged a separate war, a war of stratagem and ambuscade. . . . A conquered nation gave sometimes no more than four leagues of additional territory . . . the country was disputed by inches." [6] The failure to conquer the interior made insecure the Spanish possession of the coast. Hostile Indians closed contacts between towns. They united with the French, Dutch, and English to attack Spanish settlements. Thrice Santo Tomé in Guayana was thus destroyed; and the alliance of the Indians with the Dutch in this region made Spain's hold on Guayana exceedingly tenuous, thus endangering, it was thought, her possession of all northern South America. Ambitious hacendados were impatient at their inability to exploit the interior of the country and willing to accept the mission as an advance agent of civilian occupation. The immediate impetus for the introduction of the mission came from a civilian of San Cristóbal, Francisco Rodríguez Leite, one who was incited, however, by humanitarian rather than mercenary motives. He requested the Bishop of Puerto Rico for missionaries, and through the latter the petition finally reached the king.

In 1652 Philip IV, recognizing both the abuses of the conquistadores and their failure, ordered that military expeditions cease. At the same time he instituted the Christian mission as a means of pacifying and civilizing the Indian. At that date thus begins the history of the mission system in Venezuela. In a royal decree of this year the Franciscans secured the right to found missions in the district of Barcelona, Province of Cumaná. In 1657 the Capuchins were granted New Andalucía, eastern part of this province, and in the following year they were established in the

[6] Depons, François, *Voyage to the Eastern Part of Tierra Firme*, 3 vols. (New York, 1806), I, 6.

Province of Caracas. The western part of this province was entered also by the Dominicans and on the Apure River by Augustinians. The extensive region of Guayana was entered by various Orders after 1664—Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Capuchins; but all left it before the end of the century because of lack of workers and the difficulty of securing subsistence here. It was reëntered, however, by Franciscans, Capuchins, and Jesuits in the early eighteenth century and formally divided between these three Orders in 1736. According to the terms of this division the Capuchins were to occupy the territory from the sea to Angostura; the Franciscans that from Angostura to the entrance of the Cuchivero into the Orinoco; and the Jesuits the region from this point to the frontiers of New Granada.[7]

The general course of expansion of the Franciscan and Capuchin missions was from the coast across the llanos to the Orinoco, up this river and the Apure to New Granada, up the Río Negro to the frontier of Brazil, and finally into the region south of the Orinoco. Only on the lower Orinoco was this final effort successful. The Jesuit missions expanded eastward down the Orinoco from their center in New Granada. Most famous among the missions of Venezuela were the Franciscan missions of Píritu and the Capuchin foundations on the Caroní, a south branch of the Orinoco.

The march of the padres across the deserts and the mountains and through the tropical forests of Venezuela is a story of toil, of patience, of devotion, of heroism, only a few features of which can be recounted here. It begins with the Franciscan advancement from Píritu. In 1656 Juan de Mendoza, known for his successful work among the Indians of Florida, came out with seven other religious.[8] La Purissima Concepción de Píritu was established with Chacopatas and Píritu Indians and placed finally a mile from the sea and twenty-five miles from the nearest Spanish

[7] *Documentos relativos a la cuestión de límites de navegación fluvial entre el imperio del Brazil y la república de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1859), 109 *et seq.*

[8] This account of the Franciscan missions is based primarily on Ruíz Blanco, *Conversión en Píritu* and Caulín, *Historia de Nueva Andalucía* (see above, note 2).

city, Barcelona. It remained the center of all the Franciscan missions in Venezuela, the residence of the provincial and the college. By its location on this exposed coast it was a main outpost against the Dutch and French. From Píritu other missions soon sprang on the arrival of additional religious in 1659; Santa Clara, San Antonio, San Joseph, San Miguel, and Guaymacuar. The Indians in the immediate vicinity of Píritu were more easily settled and converted than others among whom the Franciscans labored. They consisted of a number of groups, the Cumanagotos, Chaymas, Clarines, Píritus, and Chacopatas, being the chief.

But the Palenques and Guarives, other groups within the neighborhood of Píritu, gave much trouble to the missions; they kept the mission Indians in constant unrest and the padres in insecurity. With the Caribs and Guaraunos, more distant tribes, they proved the most difficult to reduce of all the Indians in Cumaná. In 1677 the Palenques, aroused by the abuses of Spanish corregidores and encomenderos, threatened destruction to all the missions. Manuel de Yangües, a marvellous preacher, begged to be allowed to go to them in spite of the danger of instant death. He succeeded finally in converting the famous chief and medicine man, Caygua, who burned the instruments of his trade and offered his home to the missionary. A mission, San José de Caygua, was founded. The Palenques remained restless, however, and soon most of them left. In 1681 the mission was moved, and, composed now chiefly of Cumanagotos and Topocuares, it grew into one of the best and most populous of all the missions. The conversion of the Palenques was not given up; it now became the chief concern of Ruíz Blanco, outstanding among all the Franciscan missionaries. To the south of Píritu he succeeded in establishing eight hundred in San Pablo on the Egueri in 1680. From this settlement a group was drawn for the founding of a mission among the Guarives, San Juan Evangelista; but in the following year, 1681, the Indians revolted, murdered the two missionaries in charge, Sebastián Delgado and Juan de Villegas, and burned the mission. Other Guarives and Tomuces soon came seeking baptism. Juan Ramos founded with them San Juan

de Tocuyo. In 1699 another group of Guarives were settled at San Juan Capistrano del Puruey.

In the meantime the governor of Cumaná sought the establishment of a mission between the cities of Cumaná and Barcelona to make passage secure. Here in 1687 Lorenzo Ximénes gathered Cumanagotos and Tagares. Soon this mission, Amparo de los Pozuelos, was attacked by pirates, Ximénes seized to be left several months later on an uninhabited coast, the mission burned, and the Indians killed or scattered. Ximénes returned and gathered his Indians, who were deeply impressed by his heroic life. Ximénes, it should be said, suffered from serious illness that made these exigencies of mission life hard to endure. An epidemic of measles next took off most of his neophytes. In 1704 an English corsair practically destroyed the mission; restored, it was now moved a little nearer to Cumaná and a fort built on this undefended coast. Lack of security and stability was the experience of most of these missions in their early history; many of them had to be moved, some several times before a secure location was found. Thus the labors of the missionaries were multiplied. Time does not permit the story of the founding of all the Franciscan missions. In 1701 there were seventeen within a radius of fifty miles from Píritu. They had 6,412 Indians. Up to this time 24,221 had been baptized.

Expansion southward to the Orinoco was now undertaken, a plan favored by the government and entrepreneurs, who desired the opening of a way through the llanos to connect the settlements on the coast with the Orinoco. In 1715 San Mateo was established with Palenques, Cumanagotos, and Chaymas Indians. *Entradas,* or excursions to secure Indians, were undertaken from it to the Caribs. These famous Indians, reputed to be cannibals and often denounced as oppressors of weaker Indians and traffickers in slaves with the Dutch, attracted the most valiant efforts of all missionaries to convert them; not merely to remove the danger of their hostility, but because they believed them to be more valuable additions to church and state than the other Indians in Venezuela. They were physically and intellectually a superior type, who regarded all other Indians as subjects or slaves. "We

alone are men!" they declared. With their long boats they had been a considerable naval power in the Caribbean before the Spanish came. Now they ruled on the Orinoco, allying themselves with the Dutch, to whom they sold captured Indians as slaves.[9]

In 1722 the Franciscans succeeded in settling groups of Caribs in Santa Ana and Santa Barbara in the llanos. Under Chief Yacuba others were settled at Pariví nearer the Orinoco. His death soon after baptism led to an attack on the mission, the Indians attributing it to the baptism, as the medicine men had taught them. Warned by Christian Indians, Ximénes was saved, but the Indians were scattered. Restored, the mission continued as San Joaquín de Pariví. Some Guaraunos, tree dwellers on the Orinoco delta, were drawn out and joined with a few Chaymas at Santa Rosa de Ocopí. The desire to convert the Caribs led Francisco de Llagas to resign his prelacy to undertake a mission to them. In 1733 he entered their country on the lower Orinoco with three colleagues and no guard. After remaining nine months, the padres had failed to induce the Caribs to accept the Christian religion or to give up their nomadic manner of life. They returned to Píritu, but two of them with Andrés López, a very zealous worker, came back to establish a mission just north of the Orinoco at Lake Mamo. Soon the two returned to a provincial conference at Píritu, leaving López alone. The Indians killed him and destroyed the mission.

The difficulty of advancement southward and the urgent need to check the Dutch and the English led Spain to send out a much larger mission in 1736, a group of forty. In 1744 settlements of Spanish and Indians were made at Pao and Aragua in the llanos to give protection to the towns to the north and to serve as bases for further expeditions to the south. By 1751 the Franciscans had crossed the Orinoco and established Muitaca on the Caura, a south branch. In 1755 San Francisco Solano was

[9] A Venezuelan army officer and historian, Brigadier J. C. Terrero Monagas, in a very interesting recent study of Carib culture attributes present-day Venezuelan nationalism and military spirit to this Indian element. The title of this study *Ana carina rote* is a Carib phrase, their national slogan and battle-cry, "Ourselves alone!"

founded, and other settlements followed. By 1779 they had twelve missions south of the Orinoco. They now ascended this river and the Río Negro, occupying the six Jesuit missions on the Upper Orinoco. By 1796 they had reached the frontiers of Brazil and crossed back from the Río Negro to the Orinoco by way of the Casiquiare. In their expansion from Píritu they had covered fifteen hundred miles, most of it little known since these missions were destroyed in the Revolution against Spain. In 1796 they had thirty-four missions in Guayana with 7,298 Indians. These were administered by a prefect resident at San Fernando de Atabapo, who in turn served under the provincial at Píritu. In Cumaná, the Franciscans had thirty-three missions with 21,000 Indians. In the course of a century one hundred thirty-eight missionaries had come to Cumaná alone; more than 60,000 Indians had been settled and converted.[10]

The founding of the six Jesuit missions on the Upper Orinoco forms one of the most heroic chapters of Venezuelan history, if not indeed the most heroic. In 1664 Antonio Monteverde, a priest in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, interested the provincial authorities in founding missions on the Orinoco to connect those in the llanos of the Meta and Casanare with the presidio at Santo Tomé, thus making it possible for Spain and the Church to occupy this vast territory.[11] Julian de Vergara and Francisco Ellauri were sent out to make a survey. Ellauri died on the journey, and Vergara returned to report the guard dying of disease and starvation. In this unsettled, isolated, and unhealthful region, it was declared, "sickness and death are more certain than life and health." But the Jesuit fathers were not daunted by this discouraging report. In 1679 and 1682 other missions were sent. Seven pueblos were founded by the second of these missions,

[10] By the end of the eighteenth century sixteen of the thirty-three missions had become doctrinas, a stage between the mission and the Spanish town. Most of the doctrinas were under the regular clergy.

[11] This account of the Jesuit missions is based on Rivero, *Historia de los misiones de los llanos de Casanare y los ríos Meta y Orinoco*, 171 *et seq.*, *passim*: Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*; Borda, J. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*, 2 vols. (Poissy, 1872), I, 126 *et seq.*; Cassani, José, *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1741).

but were soon destroyed. Four of the best missionaries were lost; three as martyrs, one was drowned in the treacherous Orinoco. Vergara, a member of all these missions, escaped only by a one-hundred-five day journey on foot, almost without food, arriving in Bogotá in 1685 a living skeleton. Still the Jesuits refused to give up. In 1682 they did withdraw from the Lower Orinoco, leaving it to the Capuchins. But in 1692 a mission of four was sent out to found missions on the Upper Orinoco. Two members of it were killed. In 1695 the Jesuits ceased for a time to prosecute a work so costly.

Returning in 1723, however, they had established by 1736 six missions, made famous by the illustrious names of Fathers Gumilla, Gilii, and Román. The problem of subsistence was finally conquered, and these communities became very productive. Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, they were granted first to the Capuchins, but subject to civil authorities. The cattle and other properties were sold; many Indians fled. The Capuchins were unable to supply them with resident missionaries. Before the Franciscans entered in 1785, they had declined lamentably and never recovered their former success, spiritual or material.

In the meantime, the Capuchin missions were expanding in the Provinces of Cumaná and Caracas.[12] In 1651 Aragonese Capuchins destined to a neighboring island had found it occupied by the French and had stopped, without authorization from the Spanish government, at Píritu. Here they founded two missions among the Cumanagotos. Complaints against their settlement led to their recall, and Philip IV granted this district to the Franciscans in 1652, as stated above. The leader of the Capuchin group, Francisco de Pamplona, died at La Guayra on the eve of departure for Spain, but Lorenzo Magallón, another member,

[12] This account is based primarily on Rionegro, *Relaciones de las misiones de PP. capuchinos en Venezuela*; Strickland, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question between Venezuela and British Guayana from the Capuchin Archives in Rome*, and certain unpublished documents cited below. Materials may also be found in *Relaciones históricas de las missiones de padre capuchinos en Venezuela*; *Colección de libros raros*, vol. XXII (Madrid, 1929); Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, I; Altolaguirre y Duvale, Angel de, *Relaciones geográficas de la gobernación de Venezuela*, 1767-1768 (Madrid, 1908); *Counter-case of Venezuela before the Tribunal of Arbitration.*

defended them successfully before the king and secured authority to bring out a group of five in 1657. In 1662 six others came. They were granted the eastern part of the Province of Cumaná and the Province of Caracas for their labor.

Indian wars in Cumaná threatened to prevent their entrance into this province. Civilians found it impossible to go from one town to another or even to their farms without great risk. But in 1659 the Capuchins succeeded in establishing a mission near the city of Cumaná, Santa Mariá de los Angeles. From this mission as a center they undertook entradas among the Farantes, who built their homes over the marshes of the Guarapiche. Expeditions also went out to the Caribs. With the aid of Macaure, famous Carib chief, a mission of six hundred was founded, Nuestra Senora del Pilar. Macaure secured for the Capuchins the friendship of another Carib chief, Ocapara, and the founding of the mission, San Juan Bautista. To the latter were added Coacas, whom the Caribs tried to enslave. A decision to divide the groups led to the desertion of the Caribs. More Coacas were added, and the mission soon reached six hundred. By 1669 two other missions had been established, and the region was pacified so that civilians could travel safely.

As soon as pacification was secured, encomenderos became jealous of the mission, desiring the labor of the Indians. Their efforts to seize mission Indians provoked an uprising among the natives. As a defense against their attacks the government established San Carlos of Spaniards and Indians near the missions. But the Caribs, now thoroughly alarmed at the encroachment on their power, joined with other Indian groups and the French, who came up the Guarapiche, and by 1675 had destroyed all the missions except Santa María.[13] The missions recovered but suffered attacks from the Caribs, Palenques, and others, in 1681, 1697 and 1720.[14] From 1730 to 1736 smallpox took off many.

[13] Archivo General de Indias, Andiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas y expedientes del obispos, legajo 218, Letter of Bishop to King, April 20, 1674; also May 13, 1675.

[14] Archivo de Indias, Andiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas y expedientes del gobernadores, legajo 196, Memorial to king from missions, March 4, 1682, of an uprising of Palenques, Tocuyos, Tomuces, and Guarives.

Yet the work slowly expanded in this very difficult field. In 1800 there were twenty missions and doctrinas with 18,000 Indians. The work of "reduction" was still proceeding at that time among the Indians of the Brigantine mountains and the Guarauros of the Orinoco delta. All the others had been reduced.[15]

In 1657 the Capuchins entered the Province of Caracas. This province proved most difficult to subdue. The Indians on the coast who resisted the Spanish had been exterminated; those who submitted were placed under encomenderos and the secular clergy.[16] To the missionaries was left the conversion of the warlike tribes of the llanos, who, as a prefect of the Capuchins in Caracas declared, "preserved from father to son the memory of the cruelty of the conquerors to their ancestors."[17] It was hard to secure these Indians and harder still to hold them in missions. But on the first entradas they did secure two thousand, founding with them three missions. All of these Indians soon deserted. The death of a valiant missionary, Placido de Belicena, in the mission church at Pao in 1666 led to a petition for the establishment of a Spanish town near the missions. The citizens of it were to be allowed the services of Indian boys for ten years under supervision of the mission in return for military protection to the missionaries on entradas. Thus San Carlos de Austria was founded. Several missions were now established in its vicinity. Complaints were made against the use of military aid, and in 1689 the king ordered that the missionary go alone. All records are eloquent evidence that this was highly dangerous and unfruitful in the province. In 1692 the king again allowed the use of a military escort. Other Spanish towns were established toward the Orinoco to furnish guards, Calabozo being the chief of these. Even so, the conversion and settlement of these Indians in the llanos of Caracas proved a backbreaking and heartbreaking ordeal.[18] Today a mission would have hundreds, tomorrow none.

[15] The mission was called a "reduction" and the converted Indians "reduced."

[16] Regulars often served these Indian villages through lack of seculars.

[17] Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, I, 388.

[18] The long relation of the Prefect, Miguel de Olivares, tells the story of the heroic work of these missionaries from 1658 to 1745; *vide* Rionegro, *Relaciones*, II; or Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, I, 388 *et seq.*

The patience of the missionary must have been infinite. In 1745 the Capuchins had fourteen missions in this province; in 1770, thirty-one. San Diego de Cojedes and San Raphael de Onoto were the most considerable. By 1770 most of the Indians between Caracas and the Orinoco had been settled and converted.

In the western part of the province the fierce Goajiros and Motilones presented a special problem to the missionaries. Capuchins of Navarre and Valencia worked here, and the Dominicans had fourteen missions in the region of Lake Maracaibo.[19] These Indians were excellent horsemen; they traded and intrigued with the English in Jamaica and gave much trouble to the governments of both New Granada and Venezuela. The missionaries succeeded in converting and settling some of them, but never were able to pacify the region. To the east between Lake Maracaibo and Barquisimeto were the equally troublesome Gayones. For a time the Capuchins had considerable success among them until the interference of civilians forced their withdrawal.[20] In 1721 Governor Castro requested the founding of a mission near La Guayra as a coast defense for Caracas; but within a short time it was delivered to secular control, and the Indians deserted.

From 1682 the Capuchins did heroic work among the Indians of Lower Guayana and the Island of Trinidad in spite of the difficulty of this isolated field, the lamentable scarcity of workers, and the lack of government aid. In 1687 twelve missionaries came; four missions were established in Guayana and eight in Trinidad. But three missionaries met martyrdom in Trinidad; three others were called to Caracas. Those remaining asked to be allowed to discontinue the work in Guayana until more laborers could be secured and to concentrate their efforts in Trinidad. But encomenderos, the worst enemy of the missions, sought the destruction of those in Trinidad. Under an earlier agreement

[19] I have not discussed the Dominican missions in my paper, because I have as yet not examined their archives, except an occasional document found elsewhere.

[20] Archivo de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas del gobernadores, legajo 197[a], Letter of Governor Marques de Casal, Jan. 2, 1689 to king; Letter of Bishop Baños, Jan. 1, 1689, in defense of Capuchins; various other documents.

they had been allowed to use mission Indians in limited service; they abused their labor, and the missionaries henceforth refused to let the Indians go to them. Thus the attack.[21] In 1708 the Spanish government ordered that all missions of the Capuchins in Guayana and Trinidad be placed in charge of secular priests. The governor and bishop now came to the defense of the missionaries, supporting their requests that Canary Islanders be settled at Santo Tomé to give protection and that financial aid be granted to these missions. In 1718 thirty families of Islanders were sent, but no financial aid. Most of the immigrants soon left this undeveloped and unproductive region.

In 1723, however, the Capuchins sent out more workers, and from 1724 their work of conversion and settlement began to progress. After 1735 some civil and military aid was granted, governors insisting that missions would be the least expensive and the most efficient means of checking the Dutch, already located on the Essequibo, and the English. They pointed out the danger that the loss of the Orinoco would be to Spanish possession of all Venezuela and New Granada. In the meantime more missionaries were arriving. Cows were brought from Barcelona and the economic future of these missions secured by the success that attended their increase in the ranches of Caroní. After 1762 the missions progressed rapidly in population and prosperity. By 1788 there were twenty-nine with 16,140 Indians, and 34,667 had been baptized. By 1817, when the missions were destroyed by the Revolution, 48,208 had been baptized; they contained then 21,246 Indians. These Capuchin missions formed a compact group on the Caroní, a south branch of the Orinoco.

This account of mission expansion, summary and largely statistical, tells little of the arduous labors of the fathers and their achievements in the salvation of the Indian. In the remainder of this paper an attempt is made to suggest these labors and accomplishments. It may seem from the foregoing that the mission was merely a military and political agency to push back the frontiers, pacify the natives, and open the country. Encomenderos, economic interests generally, and many local officials seem

[21] Rionegro, *Relaciones*, II, 216 *et seq.*

to have considered these its real functions; and they urged that the missionary move on as soon as pacification was achieved, so that they could trade with the Indian and exploit his labor. But the Spanish kings and, still more, the Catholic padres themselves emphasized the cultural and spiritual functions of the missions. Since these objectives could be realized only slowly, the missionaries insisted on retaining the control of the Indian for a considerable time; and the kings usually upheld them against civil opposition.[22]

Time allows only a few observations on the process and problems of mission foundation and administration. It was a monumental task to settle these nomadic Indians, a necessary preliminary step to success in conversion and instruction. Franciscans were able generally to reduce by persuasion and went without guard; but the death of the missionary at the hands of the Indians was not a rare occurrence. The Capuchins, especially in the Province of Caracas, found military protection usually necessary for success in reduction, although they often attempted it without such aid. Jesuits often went without military escort, sometimes because it could not be secured, the intrepid Gumilla through choice. All Orders made use of reduced Indians in founding new missions.[23]

[22] According to the law, the missionary was to move on after ten years, leaving the Indians to civil and secular control. Many missions in Venezuela were retained by the missionary more than ten years. For these Indians it seemed the most satisfactory system of government; indeed, the only successful one.

[23] Eugenio de Alvarado, commandant in Guayana, gave the following description of the procedure used on an *entrada* (1755): "Before entering the forest, they prepare . . . girdles of mankin and calico, hatchets, knives, and cutlasses to present to the Indians and beads for their wives. They select from the community two or three trustworthy Indians of the tribe that inhabits the locality which they go to visit, and these serve as witnesses of the good treatment given the Indians who establish themselves in missions. They also take one or two soldiers from the garrison of Guayana, who serve as a guard in the mission and are well-informed of the road and provided with swords and firearms. Then they enter into the places where the Indian families are gathered into huts . . . and with these presents and kind words they endeavor to win them over and thus gain their good will. Some gather more fruit than others; but the first excursion serves only as a preliminary,

The physical task of founding a mission was stupendous.[24] Journeys had to be made on foot or in open canoes on treacherous rivers; two padres, perhaps more, were thus drowned; one was killed by a crocodile. Some entradas required a journey of several months. It was impossible to carry adequate food or other supplies, and little could be secured from these wild Indians. Expeditions to *re*-discover the Orinoco and Río Negro today consider the airplane essential. Contrast this twentieth-century exploration with the seventeenth century missionary's task—Father Vergara's one-hundred-five day journey on foot, alone, without supplies! Such food as could be taken was dried maize or cassava. Missionaries became seriously undernourished. Some lost eyesight or suffered other ailments from this cause.

Financing the foundation of a mission was very difficult, especially where military aid was required. The king granted military escorts in some mission fields; commonly in Mexico, I believe; but rarely in Venezuela. Sometimes the missionaries were able to secure support from civilians in return for the limited service of Indian boys. But this practice was open to serious objection and not generally followed. The missionary not only had to hire an escort, but to purchase supplies, arms, and presents for the Indians.[25] Alms was a main resource for financial support in the first years; but alms were hard to secure in Venezuela, not yet a productive land. The missionaries eventually got an annual *sínodo* from the state from fifty to two-hundred-fifty pesos; but payment of it was usually in arrears, sometimes through hostility of local officials, sometimes because the treasury was empty.[26] Early missions helped to finance the later establishments, furnishing both supplies and escorts.

and it is necessary to repeat the journey several times according to the character of the tribe (*Counter-case of Venezuela*, III, 56).

[24] Overwhelming evidence of this exists in the books of Gumilla, Ruíz Blanco, Caulín, and Rivero, mentioned above (note 2); also in Rionegro, *Relaciones*; in Depons, *Voyage*; in Humboldt, A. de, and Aimé Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Region of the New Continent, 1796-1804*, 6 vols. (London, 1826).

[25] On the problem of financing a foundation, *vide* Rionegro, *Relaciones*, II, 296 *et seq.*

[26] Archivo de Indias, Andiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas del gobernadores,

It was difficult to hold Indians secured at such cost. They objected to settled life. Then sometimes the padres, ignorant of tribal conflicts, combined hostile groups. War in the mission would follow or desertion of the Indians. Many declared that one of their greatest problems was to compose these tribal hostilities. Months might be spent in collecting a group of several hundred and establishing them in a mission only to have them desert in a body, taking all the movable property with them, often burning the rest. The missionary was fortunate to escape with his life.[27]

It was a task to find a suitable location for a mission: a healthful and productive place; adequate and safe water supply; security from hostile Indians.[28] Many missions were moved several times in the effort to secure a better location. The most healthful places were usually the least productive. Water had often to be carried laboriously for several leagues. Then the plagues—smallpox, measles, typhus, malaria! The mosquito was an almost universal evil, but worst on the Orinoco. "Exile to the mosquitoes" was the fate of many a missionary—it was said that those guilty of some delinquency were sent to these missions.[29] A native legend related to Father Gilli by a Saliva Indian suggests the common concern with this affliction: "People in the moon must be very happy. It looks so cool and clear; there are surely no mosquitoes there."[30] Numerous other insects and wild animals made life insecure and miserable; sabandijas, which bored under the nails of hand and feet; ants, some varieties of which ate their records and others their crops; bats, which destroyed the cattle; tigers, snakes, crocodiles, which made travel dangerous.[31]

In spite of the difficulties of climate, geography, and an un-

legajo 200; various letters of governors and Ruíz Blanco concerning arrears due missions give evidence of this problem.

[27] Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, I, 388 *et seq.*; also 436 *et seq.* report of Capuchin prefects, Olivares (1745) and Ubrique (1758).

[28] Ruíz Blanco, *Conversión en Píritu*, 83, and *passim*.

[29] Humboldt, *Personal Narrative*, V, pt. I, 92.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, a classic on the sabandijas.

trained, uncertain, and inefficient labor supply some missions became very productive. The Capuchins in Guayana surpassed all others in this respect. At the end of the eighteenth century they had 118,000 head of cattle; sugar plantations and mills; grain fields; manufactures of hammocks, cotton cloth and leather goods.[32] After Spanish efforts of two and one-half centuries to maintain settlements here, the Capuchins had finally solved the problem of subsistence. Until the expulsion of the Jesuits their six missions on the Orinoco were very productive, emphasizing fruit culture, general farming, cattle raising, weaving, lace and pottery manufacture. Esmeralda, the most remote Franciscan mission on the Río Negro, produced the best pineapples in the country. Franciscan missions in Píritu were less productive than those of the Capuchins of Guayana; but, with cattle, maize, yucca, cacao, cotton, fish, tile making, salt works, cotton cloth, were generally self-sufficing.[33] In the Capuchin missions of eastern Cumaná economy was generally more backward. It was said that they produced less intentionally to avert the jealousy of civilians.[34] Some Capuchin missions in the Province of Caracas, notably San Diego de Cojedes, were very prosperous with cacao, tobacco, beans, and canoe manufacture.[35] Many in the sterile uplands of the llanos, where they were placed to escape floods, were poor and depended on others for support.

Another problem of the missionary, perhaps his most serious difficulty, was the continuous opposition from civilians, especially encomenderos, who were often supported by governor and bishop.[36] It should be said, however, that some outstanding governors and bishops were strong defenders of the missions.[37] Usually those who visited the missions favored them. In most disputes the

[32] *Counter-case of Venezuela*, III, 51 *et seq.* The Indians worked common farms for the support of the mission. Then they had little farms of their own that they could work for profit.

[33] Strickland, *Documents*, 14.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Rionegro, *Relaciones*, II, 320 *et seq.*

[36] Ruiz Blanco, *Conversión en Píritu*, 52 *et seq.*

[37] For example, Bishops Escalona, Valverde, Diego y Baños; or Governors Diego Portales, Carlos de Sucre, and Diguja.

king took their side. A long politico-economic controversy against the Capuchins in Guayana arose in the eighteenth century and continued to the Revolution—a story too long to relate here. Suffice it to say that in spite of the prominence of the opponents the king upheld the Capuchins.[38] In the Province of Caracas, enterprising Father Marcelino de San Vicente planted near the mission of San Francisco Xavier a cacao farm which proved so productive that it aroused the envy of the citizens of San Felipe, a neighboring Spanish town. They sought unsuccessfully to oust the missionaries on charges of their attempting to enrich themselves.[39] Father Marcelino could show, however, that many poorer missions depended on the success of this farm; it was a case, as he saw it, of the one poor lamb of Nathan, which the ambitious civilians sought. If the missions were productive, they were accused of abusing the labor of the Indian; if unproductive, of impeding the proper progress of the country.

The missionary's task of Christianizing and educating the backward Venezuelan Indian was even more difficult than the problems of business administration. Numerous tongues made the language problem tortuous. Many missionaries, especially the earlier ones, did noble work in the study of native languages, preparing grammars and translating the teachings of the church into them. The lack of a highly organized religion, such as the pagan religions of Peru and Mexico, made the task of instruction more difficult in Venezuela than in those countries. The Indians lacked the fundamental concepts of religion and their languages the proper words.[40] Medicine men sought to overthrow the power of their rivals, the Christian fathers. But in spite of the difficulties of conversion and instruction many missions gave evidence of successful achievement in the notable work of mission Indians in the Church, in arts, and in civil life. The industrial training given in the mission produced good fruit also in practical life.

[38] Strickland, *Documents, passim*; *Counter-case of Venezuela*, III, *passim*.

[39] Rionegro, *Relaciones*, II, 310 *et seq.*; or Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, I, 424 *et seq.*

[40] On the language problem, *vide* especially Ruíz Blanco, *Conversión en Píritu*, 157 *et seq.*; or Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, 389, 417-418.

There was always a dearth of missionaries in Venezuela. New Granada with two and one-half times the population had six times as many missionaries. According to rule there should have been two in each mission. Often in Venezuela one served several missions. Governors, as well as provincials, begged for more workers. For example, Governor Sucre of Cumaná said in 1735 he could use five hundred religious in Guayana and had none to offer; Diego Portales, captain-general and governor of Venezuela, had made a special plea to the king ten years earlier for regulars to use among the Indians.[41] There are numerous instances of similar requests.

There were defects and weaknesses in the missions and the mission system; some general, some peculiar perhaps to Venezuela. To analyze these and evaluate the criticisms of the system would require another paper.[42] But what the missionary achieved in the face of these difficulties and others is remarkable.

By the end of the eighteenth century missions had expanded to the boundaries of the present-day Republic of Venezuela. This state owes its foundation to them. Armed conquest failed. Only by means of the mission was Spain able to pacify the Indian and occupy the country. Capuchin missions checked the Dutch on the Lower Orinoco, establishing the limits of Spanish control there, as the records of the later boundary dispute with England, heir of the Dutch claims, indicate.[43] Franciscan missions were the outposts on the frontier of Brazil. And the Capuchin, Franciscan, and Dominican missions were defense against foreign attacks on the north and east coast. By the end of the eighteenth century most of the Indians of Venezuela were settled and converted. Some remained unreduced on the Upper Orinoco and Río Negro; a few of the Guaraunos on the Orinoco delta still lived in their tree-houses; a few families of various tribes remained wandering in the Brigantine mountains of eastern Cumaná. Practically all the towns of Venezuela began as mission stations. Over two

[41] *Counter-case of Venezuela*, III, 23, 43.

[42] An effort to evaluate the criticism is made in the author's *History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933).

[43] Strickland, *Documents, passim*; *Counter-case of Venezuela*; and other records of this boundary dispute.

hundred were founded by the Capuchins alone. The Indians were conserved in the missions to become a main element in the population of the Republic. Records indicate that the rate of increase of Indian population was higher in missions than in the savage state, due primarily perhaps to lowered mortality.[44] And, as indicated above, the mission had accomplished much in the education of the Indian. Even anti-clerical governments in the Republic of Venezuela have been forced to admit that the missionary is the only agency that has been successful in controlling the Indians of the Orinoco and maintaining them in a civilized state.[45]

My paper should end here, but may I say a word about the missionaries themselves? Some of them have become famous through their historical and scientific studies mentioned below; some are well known through the writings of others or the mission records. No doubt much heroic work goes unrecognized due to the destruction of records by fire, the general humidity of the climate, and the ravages of ants and other insects.[46] All sections of Spain supplied this mission field—Navarre, Valencia, Catalonia, Aragon, Andalucía, Castile; and some came from Flanders, Germany, and Italy. Noble Spanish families were represented in their sons. Some left high positions in Spain, professorships in the colleges of Madrid, Seville, and other cities. Most of the missionaries were young when they came, under forty; many in their twenties; some under twenty. Many gave a lifetime to these missions—thirty, forty, and one, fifty years. Many, too, gave their lives through martyrdom at the hands of the Indians. A few returned at once or went elsewhere, because they could not stand the climate. Others, ill upon arrival, found their health improved. A few were misfits. Ruíz Blanco urged careful selection to avoid

[44] Humboldt, *Personal Narrative*, V, pt. I, 23.

[45] Watters, *History of the Church in Venezuela*, 157 *et seq.*; 215-217. The destruction of the missions during the Revolution caused many Indians to revert to a wandering life. The civilizing work of the mission seemed to require its continuance; the Indians did not become self-sufficient in a settled state.

[46] Caulín, *Historia de Nueva Andalucía*, 2. He said he had to hasten to write his history before the ants ate the records.

this and made a sort of prospectus, describing the nature of the country and the work to serve as a guide in selection. Unfortunately a few returned, it is recorded, because they lacked the necessary courage to face the hardships. But most of those who came remained to leave remarkable records of service.

Their abilities were diverse. Each individual, to be sure, had to be capable in many lines; no narrow specialist could serve in such a work. But they had their excellencies. There were remarkable linguists and philologists; powerful evangelists; able statesmen; enterprising business administrators; capable and tireless physicians; explorers; scientists; historians; social experts; architects; artists; musicians; saints. The history of many a one would make a fascinating story or a beautiful poem.

Only a few can be even mentioned here. In the roster of illustrious Capuchins one finds Francisco de Pamplona, sea-captain turned priest, precursor of the Capuchins of Venezuela, a padre revered by the Indians of Cumaná one hundred fifty years after his death; José de Carabantes, evangelist, philologist, first Capuchin writer in Indian tongues; Placido de Belicana, bold leader in entradas in the first difficult years in the Province of Caracas and first Capuchin martyr; Marcelino de San Vincente, vigorous expansionist and promoter, business administrator, statesman in defense of the missions and Indians; Benito de Garriaga, explorer far below the Orinoco into the unknown Lake Parime region after he had passed the age of sixty; Carlos de Barcellona, itinerant physician in the Caroní missions, who travelled so widely as such that upon retirement he became the best map-maker, his maps giving strongest support to Venezuela's claims in the British-Venezuela boundary dispute; and finally the beloved Good Pastor, Father Tabara, who in 1800 was exhibiting all the zeal of the early fathers in the conversion of the remaining wild Indians of eastern Cumaná.

Among the Jesuits there stand out: Radiel, Beck, Campos, Loberzo, all early martyrs to the faith; and the later explorers and colonizers: José Gumilla, explorer, carpenter, mason, sculptor, printer, doctor, surgeon, author of one of the most intriguing books on Venezuela, *El Orinoco ilustrado,* a natural and social

history, and of various works on Indian languages; Juan Rivero, who wrote the history of these missions; Samuel Fritz, preacher, teacher, explorer, map-maker; Filippo Salvadore Gilli, famous administrator, philologist, historian, and author of *Saggio di storia Americana* in four volumes; and Manuel Román, founder of new missions, statesman, historian, first explorer of the Río Negro, musician, whose orchestra of Saliva Indians was remarkable among many mission Indians proficient in music.

The Franciscans include: Juan de Mendoza, the founder and first prelate in the missions of Píritu, who served in the lean years when food was lacking and health poor and set the high standard of discipline and service upheld by these missions; Manuel de Yangues, a man remarkable for devotion and purity of life from boyhood, popular teacher in Madrid, before coming to America, first Franciscan to learn Indian tongues, and to translate church services, most powerful preacher to Spanish and Indian, mediator in the inter-city dispute of San Cristóbal and Barcelona, and one noted for miraculous power even after death; Juan de Solorzano, who secured the freedom of the Indian from tribute; Manuel de Jesús, who spent twenty years building churches, going on difficult journeys to secure fine timbers, yet never had a cell of his own; Andrés López, intriguing character, too zealous for the salvation of the Indian to regard restraints on his reckless self-sacrifice, one who was often in difficulties with authorities, but was finally justified, who sought martyrdom and met it at Lake Mamo; Antonio Caulín, author of the excellent *Historia de Nueva Andalucía,* a leader in expansion of the Franciscan missions south of the Orinoco, explorer, member of the government commission of 1750 on limits with Brazil, and one of the foremost provincials. And, finally, the matchless Matias Ruíz Blanco, professor in Seville at twenty-three; famous provincial; statesman in defense of missions against a selfish and indifferent government and of the Indians against the abuses of encomenderos; diplomat; founder of new missions among the most hostile Indians; evangelist; author of the fascinating history, *Conversión en Píritu*; noted philologist, who worked many years by the experimental method, testing his words and phrases to secure

the best translation of religious teachings into the Indian tongues; and withal a man of imagination, fine sensibilities, generous nature, who turned aside from the burdens of mission administration to praise God for the beauties of Venezuela—the sunshine, the flowers, the gorgeous birds, one of which he tamed and kept in his cell—and to thank the Creator for his providential mercy in placing plants furnishing water in desert places and providing enemies of and antidotes for the pests and plagues of the country.

I wish I had the imagination to revive more ably from these documents of several centuries ago the living personalities of these missionaries and the eloquence to pay tribute more worthily to their memory.

MARY WATTERS.

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Some Peculiar and General Characteristics *

Christian missions is one of the subjects most neglected by historians who deal with recent history. Yet here is one of the major movements of the past century and a half. Regardless of what one's religious convictions—or lack of convictions—may be, and whether one believes the missionary movement to be good or bad, because of its extent and its influence it deserves careful study from all historians who wish to understand the age out of which we now seem to be passing. In a paper necessarily as brief and yet as comprehensive as this must attempt to be, all that can be done is to call attention to the extent of the movement and to suggest some of the features which set apart the Christian missions of the past century or century and a half from those of any other period.

First of all, as to the extent of the movement. Never has any religion—or, for that matter, any set of ideas, religious or secular—been propagated over so wide an area by so many professional agents as has Christianity in the twelve decades since the Napoleonic Wars. Christian missionaries have accompanied European peoples in their prodigious *Völkerwanderung* of the past century and a quarter and have held the immigrants to the Christian faith. In the United States, in Canada, in the Southern republics of Latin America, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in South Africa, the millions of professedly Christian immigrants have been followed to their new homes. For them churches and schools have been built and a native clergy trained. In extent this is one of the major cultural achievements of the modern age. It is, moreover, a religious achievement of unprecedented magnitude. In addition, Christian mission-

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aries have penetrated to the great majority of the tribes and nations which are traditionally denominated non-Christian and there have established themselves. To aid in their labors they have reduced to writing more languages than had been given a written form in all the previous history of the race. They have introduced schools and medicine of a Western type and they have gathered groups of converts. Their activities have extended from the frozen North to the steaming heat of the tropics. They have covered the Far East, India, the Near East, parts of Central Asia, the islands of the Pacific, Africa, and many of the Indian and Eskimo tribes of the Americas.

Some of the most obvious features of this missionary movement can quickly be mentioned: (1) It has been almost entirely limited to the Catholic Church and to the various Protestant churches and denominations. Except for some activities of the Russian Orthodox Church before 1914, in it the various Eastern Churches have had almost no share. (2) For the first time in its history Protestantism as a whole has become active in spreading its forms of the Christian faith among non-Christian peoples. Before the nineteenth century some Protestant minorities had been so engaged, but the masses of Protestants had not been interested. (3) Christian missions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been closely associated with the industrial revolution and the expansion of European peoples. With some striking exceptions it is from industrialized countries and sections that missions have had their chief support. Thus it was in industrial Lyons that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had its inception. It is from lands which have been most active in the expansion of Europe that a large proportion of missionaries has come. For instance, of the Catholic powers in the nineteenth century France both acquired the largest colonial possessions and also led in Catholic missions. Of the Protestant powers, Great Britain led in colonial expansion and long held the leadership in Protestant missions. This generalization must not be pushed too far—for the United States, with very small colonial possessions outside the Americas, now leads in Protestant missions in the Far East and the Near East and provides a large

proportion of the Protestant missionaries in India and Africa. So, too, the recent rapid growth of Catholic missions from the United States has been directed chiefly to areas in which the United States has no colonial possessions. It is, however, clear that Christian missions, whether Catholic or Protestant, and whatever the nature of their origin, have been intimately associated with the spread of Western culture. They have been the pioneers of some phases of it—notably education, medicine and various humanitarian movements—and have been an almost invariable accompaniment of European expansion.

It is, however, to some of the less frequently noted features of nineteenth and twentieth century Christian missions that I wish to call attention, and especially to characteristics which are unique in the history not only of the spread of Christianity but also in the expansion of other faiths.

First of all, nineteenth and twentieth century missions, both Catholic and Protestant, have depended for their financial support upon the gifts of millions of donors. The contributions of hundreds of thousands of individuals have made possible the impressive incomes of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, of the Association of the Holy Infancy, and of the various Protestant missionary societies. A few large gifts have come from wealthy individuals, but they have constituted only a minority of the whole. Endowments have been accumulated but in the case of a number of organizations the return from them is less than a half of the total income. Pre-nineteenth century Catholic missions had been predominantly financed either by governments, by endowments, or by gifts of a few wealthy individuals. This had been less general in pre-nineteenth century Protestant missions, but the latter had not been very extensive and several of such Protestant missions as had existed had derived their financial support from the state. The missions of non-Christian religions, Buddhist, Moslem, or Hindu, have never enjoyed a wide financial support from the masses of their adherents. In other words, more than any other missionary enterprise in history, Christian missions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been a popular movement, made possible by the active

support of a large proportion of those who have called themselves Christians.

A second unique feature is the part played by women. The majority of Catholic missionaries—if one may use the latter word in a non-technical sense to embrace all the foreign agents who are professionally engaged in propagating the faith—are women; and, if one includes wives, the large majority of Protestant missionaries are also women. It is no novelty to see women as missionaries. One recalls the large part played by them in the English missions which Boniface directed in eighth century Germany. However, the large proportion of women on the staffs of nineteenth and twentieth century Christian missions is new, in the history of the spread both of Christianity and also of other religions. Why is this so? What effect upon the newly emerging Christian communities has this prominence of the woman missionary had? Into these and other interesting and highly significant questions suggested by this characteristic I must not here take the time to enter.

A third feature is the relatively high standards set up for admission of non-Christians to baptism. This has been true of both Catholics and Protestants. One of the features of pre-nineteenth century missions which most impresses the student is the ease with which admission was gained to the Christian community. In the early Christian centuries, to be sure, pre-baptismal instruction seems usually to have been required. On some occasions it was also demanded in the Middle Ages. In much of the conversion of Western Europe, however, and in the Spanish and Portuguese missions from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century in general, the pre-baptismal preparation was brief and its amount slight. In the relatively few pre-nineteenth century Protestant missions the practice was not uniform. Some had almost no pre-baptismal instruction: others had a long catechumenate with careful preparation. In contrast, in general, the trend of nineteenth and twentieth century Christian missions, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, has been toward a fairly long period of probation and instruction before baptism. Here, as in other centuries, practice has varied. The general direction seems clear. This, too, is unique in the history of the spread of religions.

Usually, admission to the general community (not, of course, to the Buddhist monastic groups or the inner circles of the Manichaeans) was easy and involved little or no preliminary instruction in the tenets of the faith.

A fourth characteristic, related to the above but not entirely a result of it, is the relative absence of large group movements into the Church. Entrance into Christianity, as into other religions, has generally been a matter of group decision. Usually a few individuals have led the way, but the majority have come through a popular movement. In a certain sense, the conversion of the Roman Empire was a matter of group choice, especially after Constantine and his successors gave to the Church the support of the state. So, too, was the conversion of the various peoples of the British Isles, of Scandinavia, and of Germany. The Indians of the Americas tended to come into the Church by groups or by tribes. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed some group movements—as among the depressed classes and animistic tribes of India, in some of the islands of the Pacific, and in Africa. As a rule, however, conversion has been that of individuals or families or, on occasion, of villages, not of tribes or nations.

This seems to have been, in the main, for three reasons. First, it is because of the high standards set for the baptism of non-Christians. Second, it is because nineteenth and twentieth century Christian missions have dealt so largely with enormous, highly civilized masses of mankind, notably those in the Near East, India, China, and Japan. Here, so far, only a relatively few individuals or smaller groups have come into the Church. In the brief time that nineteenth and twentieth century missions have been operating, the bulk of these populations have not been moved from their traditional religious allegiances. In the third place—and this has to do chiefly with non-Catholic missions—the stress laid by Protestantism upon individual judgment in matters of religion has emphasized bringing individuals one by one into the faith.

A fifth feature of nineteenth and twentieth century missions, closely related to the two last characteristics, has been the relatively

small percentages of the population approached who have been won to membership in the Church. In Japan and China it has been less than one per cent. of the population, in India less than two per cent., and in the Near East, aside from converts from the Eastern non-Catholic churches, very much less than one per cent. The exceptions to this are significant. In a number of the smaller islands of the Pacific the majority of the native peoples have become Christian. In certain areas of Africa—the Union of South Africa and Uganda, for instance—a fairly large percentage of the population has been baptized. As a rule it has been among formerly animistic folk that the percentage of converts has been highest. The more advanced religions have offered more marked resistance. However, it must be noted that in Japan, China, and India the percentage growth of the Christian groups is more rapid than that of the population as a whole; and this is by conversion as well as by the natural increase through births.

To give a well-rounded and accurate picture, a sixth characteristic must be added. It is true that in general higher standards than heretofore have been maintained for admission of non-Christians to baptism, that mass or group conversions have been less prominent than in other centuries, and that in the major lands of Asia the percentage of professed Christians is small. It is also true that in another sense the latter part of the nineteenth and these opening decades of the twentieth century have witnessed in Asia a remarkable molding by Christianity of enormous congeries of peoples. It has been a kind of mass adoption of certain of the Christian ideals without formal acceptance of the Christian name or without entrance into membership in the visible Church. This is particularly noticeable in India, where nineteenth and twentieth century missions were prominent half a century earlier than in China and Japan. It is seen in the tendency toward the elimination of those features of non-Christian religions which are most repugnant to the Christian ethical sense, in the adoption of some of the methods and the holydays of the Christian Church, in a slight intermixture of Christian beliefs about God, particularly in some syncretistic sects, and in the spread of humanitarian ideals which historically have had their springs largely in Christianity.

This permeation of non-Christian peoples by a certain amount of Christian ideals and practices has not been due entirely and in some instances not primarily to Christian missionaries. For instance, the use of the Christian Sunday as a day of rest in government offices and schools is attributable more to contact with the general practice in the Occident. This, too, is probably the main source of the celebration of the Christmas festival in Japan. Much, however, is from the activities of mission schools, hospitals, orphanages, and other missionary philanthropic institutions. Whether this kind of mass transformation will be followed by formal conversion, the historian must not dare to predict. He must note, however, that it is a relatively new phenomenon. History has seen only one parallel to it on a large scale—the permeation of Chinese life by Buddhism. It is well known that the percentage of simon-pure Buddhists in China has never been very large. Only the monks and nuns and the lay members of some of the strict vegetarian groups can be classed as such. Yet Chinese life as a whole has been widely modified by Buddhist ideology. Today in India, China, Japan, and in the Near East Christianity seems to be having a similar effect.

This paper has not sought to distinguish between Catholic and non-Catholic missions. Their differences are many. To note them would require another essay. However, their similarities are so numerous that in a series of generalizations such as I have attempted they can be treated as two wings of a common movement. Together they constitute one of the most amazing and influential features of the age through which the race has just passed. I must repeat the conviction with which I began. They deserve more of the attention of the dispassionate student of recent history than they have thus far received.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.

JEAN BODIN AND THE LEAGUE

The obscurity or ambiguity of the ecclesiastical position and religious opinions of the author of *Six Books of a Republic,* has, for a long time, puzzled and disturbed his biographers and apologists. Nor is the problem insignificant for analysts and critics of his philosophies of history and of the commonwealth. "It is impossible," writes J. W. Allen, "to separate Bodin's political from his religious thought. The whole history of his mind was that of a development of views essentially religious. Yet it is difficult to say what his religion was at any time before he wrote the *Heptaplomeres.*"[1] Only two facts have so far been demonstrated with regard to Bodin's adherence to any ecclesiastical group. One, not directly concerning us here, is that he had been a Carmelite novice. The other, as stated by Allen, is as follows:

> In 1588 the (Catholic) League became master at Laon and Bodin joined the League. It is quite clear that he did not in any sense or degree share the views of the League except, at most, as regards the incompetency of Henry III. . . . He may nevertheless have believed for a time that the League would triumph; and he may have been seriously influenced by the consideration that Henry III was, as he says, the sixty-third king of France since Faramond. It is yet more probable that he was influenced by the action of the Parlement of Paris. But a reign of terror was established in Laon and Bodin's place and property and even his life were threatened. There is little need to search for other reasons for his unheroic and very excusable conduct. . . . He repudiated the League in 1593, as soon that is as he could safely do so.[2]

However little the need for it, a search through a number of contemporary records, and the examination of some unnoticed letters attributed to Bodin indicate that perhaps Bodin's adherence to the League throws some much needed light on his religious opinions.

In 1589, reports reached the Protestants that Bodin had been

[1] *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1928), 400.

[2] *Ibid.*, 397.

instrumental in securing the taking of the oath of the League by the people of Laon, where he held the post of royal proctor. Their distress was heightened, when, in the following year, a letter was published, purporting to be from the pen of the distinguished publicist, whose *Six Books* were already famous throughout west Europe, giving his reasons for joining the League.[3]

Some evidence exists tending to show that Bodin's motives for joining the Catholic party were less idealistic than those set forth in this letter. As a result of his activities as Deputy of Vermandois at the Estates-General of Blois in 1577, he lost the favor of his former patron King Henry III. He retired to Laon, where his brother-in-law, Nicholas Trouillart, was or was soon to become royal proctor, and, for three years, led the life of a briefless lawyer, perhaps acting occasionally as substitute proctor, supervising the re-edition of his *Six Books,* and writing his gossipy *Démonomanie des Sorciers,* which was published in 1580, though much of it had been written before September, 1579.[4] Chauviré, to be sure, contends that Bodin had himself become royal proctor at Laon before April 30, 1578. He relies in part upon a passage in the *Démonomanie* where Bodin gives as his occasion for writing the book, the judgment against a sorceress "*auquel je fus appellé le dernier jour d'avril,*" [1578].[5] But from an almost immediately subsequent passage, it appears that the sentence against the sorceress "*dont il n'y eut point d'appel,*" was executed on that same last day of April, "*à la poursuite de Maistre Claude Dofay,*" royal proctor at Ribemont, a town a few miles north of Laon.[6] It would appear that the "call" of Bodin

[3] *Lettre de Monseiur Bodin ou il traicte les occasions qui l'ont faict rendre ligueur.* G. Chaudière. Paris, 1590. Also printed at Troyes, in the same year, "*par J. Moreau.*" Allen notes: "Weill denies the authenticity of this letter, but Prof. Chauviré upholds it, and I humbly agree with him. It was published probably, by the enemies of Bodin." (*Op. cit.*, 397, n. 2.) On these points, see the discussion below, which seems to put beyond doubt the authenticity of the letter.

[4] "*Et de plus fraiche memoire, au mois de Septembre dernier, mil cinq cens septante huit, l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre . . .*" *Démonomanie* (Lyon, 1593), 254. The preface to Chrestofle de Thou was dated from Laon, 20 December, 1579.

[5] *Jean Bodin, auteur de la République* (Paris, 1914), 39.

[6] *Démonomanie* (Lyon, 1593), Preface, fol. 5 r.

to the case was as last minute advocate of the condemned woman, and his participation in it confined to giving the opinion that she had no appeal. Indeed, Bodin's brother-in-law may not himself have yet been royal proctor, when Bodin was writing the *Démonomanie* (late in 1578) for he twice mentions information given him by "*M. Adam Martin, Procureur en ceste ville de Laon.*" [7]

Chauviré's other argument is a sentence in the *Epistola Vido Fabro*, prefixed to the third edition of the *Six Books*, and dated from Laon, 27 September 1580. Referring to his conduct at the Estates of Blois, he wrote: "*Si tamen procurator regius nunc fuissem, non aliter sentirem.*" This Chauviré interprets to mean that if Bodin had been then (at Blois) what he is now (at Laon), royal proctor, he would not have judged differently. The more obvious rendering seems to be: "Yet if now I were royal proctor, I should not judge differently." [8] In 1567, Bodin had been substitute for the proctor-general at the *Grands-Jours* of Poitiers.[9] He may well have anticipated taking the place of Adam Martin as royal proctor at Laon, and have been disappointed as a result of his loss of royal favor, the post nevertheless going to his kinsman, Nicholas Trouillart, shortly before 1580, and the above letter.

But before the end of 1580, Bodin had a post which must certainly have pleased him more than that of proctor in a provincial city. He became *Maître des Réquêtes* in the household of Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou,[10] and in that capacity visited

[7] *Ibid.*, 244-5, 373.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 39.

[9] *Démonomanie* (Lyons, 1593), 272.

[10] He is so addressed in a letter of December 1580, from the Marquis de Moy. The letter was directed to him at Rouen, where the Duke was then in residence. It is published by Ponthieux, in *Révue du XVI^e Siècle*, 1928, cf. J. Moreau-Reibel, *Jean Bodin et le droit public comparé* (Paris, 1933), 258, n. 1. Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador at London, describes Bodin as the Duke's "councillor and secretary." (Letter of 27 February 1581: *Calendar of Letters . . . relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas*, Vol. III. M. A. S. Hume, ed. London, 1896, 84, no. 70.) Famianus Strada speaks of him as the Duke's favorite, and "chancellor." (*Histoire de la Guerre de Flandre . . . mise en françois par P. Du-Rier.* Tome V., Lyon, 1676, 25.) Hoofts calls him "*Raadsman*" (councillor) (*Nederlandsche Historien. Tweede Deel.* Amster-

England and Antwerp from early in 1581 until after the Duke's retirement from the Netherlands.[11] The Duke died in 1584, and Bodin was again out of employment. From Laon, he dated the introductory epistle of the Latinized *Six Books* to Dampierre, 27 November, 1584, and observed that the premature death of the Duke had given him leisure to translate and revise his work.[12] Two months earlier, 21 September, 1584, he was at Laon to execute, with his wife, a lease of lands, meadows, and woods at Mortiers, to Charles Lesarge. He here describes himself as "*avocat au Parlement de Paris,*" whereas in bailments subsequent to 1588, he appears as "*procureur du roi au bailliage et siège présidial de Laon.*"[13] Trouillart, in fact, died in 1587, and in the epitaph which Bodin wrote for him he described him as "*regius apud Viromanduos procurator,*" and himself as "*in eodem magistratu successor.*"[14]

Bodin's succession to this office attracted the very unfavorable attention of the princes of the League. They complained, 29 May, 1587, to the Queen Mother, Catherine, that "certain offices have been filled by persons suspected of the new opinion, and that good Catholics have been refused appointment, as to

dam, etc., 1703, p. 843, Book 19). Grotius, however, gives him his proper title, "*libellorum praepositus.*" (*Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis,* Amsterdam, 1658, 110, book IV.)

[11] On July 29, 1583, the authorities of Valenciennes communicated to Alexander Farnese the report of "*certain bon marchant, natif de Cambray*" that the Duke of Alençon was going from place to place "*par le pays,*" in order to gather "*gens, grains, et argents,*" with the intention of revictualing Cambrai, seizing Cateau-Cambrésis, and ravaging Artois and Hainault. The merchant affirmed that he had learned all this from the Duke's people, "*et entre aultres d'ung Jehan Bodin quy est de sa suyte et de son conseil.*" *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle: 1565-1583, publiée par Charles Piot,* 10 (Brussels, 1893), 590.

[12] "*At Francisco Duce praematura morte, acerbissimoque totius Galliae casu nobis erepto, cum et otio liberiore frui licuisset, et ad minuendum animi dolorem vix ulla medicina restaret, operi manus admoui.*" *De Republica libri sex.* Paris, 1586, fol. a, ii, v. As a matter of fact, however, Bodin had been working on his translation probably in Antwerp in 1583, "on the Duke's time" for, in Book IV, Chapter 2, he mentions "this present year," 1583, "wherein Bodin writ these things in Latin." *Ibid.,* 400.

[13] *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives de l'Aisne,* II, 68, 91.

[14] The epitaph is not extant at Laon. Chauviré, *op. cit.,* 38, n. 2.

the office of Provost of Troyes. . . . They say also that the like has been done in several other cases, as for the office which Bodin has at Laon." [15] This was a Friday. On the following Wednesday, 3 June, Bodin was subjected to an inquest by the Lieutenant-General of Laon, and was cleared by the testimony of two priests.[16] Chauviré thinks that this process had something to do with a charge of magic, based on the *Démonomanie*; but he seems not to know of the complaint of the princes with regard to Bodin, and the coincidence of dates is such as to make it quite certain that the subject of the trial of the new royal proctor was his religious opinions. The two priests, who cleared him, must have testified that Bodin was a good Catholic. They may have perjured themselves, on account of Bodin's personal popularity, but there is at least an equal probability that Bodin had by this time publicly conformed to the Catholic faith.

The famous day of the Barricades, 12 May 1588, found Bodin in Paris, and, on this occasion his life was saved from the rioters for the League by the advocate, Dauger.[17] Dauger, himself presumably recognized as a good Leaguer, could only save his friend's life by testifying that he was a Catholic.

The evidence seems strongly to point to the fact that before Bodin publicly espoused the League, he had conformed, or reconformed to Catholicism. Did he do so in order to hold office as royal proctor? Unless we assume that the priests who cleared him perjured themselves, even the superficial evidence points to the contrary, for his conformity had not been accompanied with sufficient publicity to bring it to the attention of the princes, who still supposed him to be a Protestant when they made their complaint.

Bodin's religion was, of course, of the "broadest" kind, as the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* abundantly makes clear. Catholicism and Protestantism were, in his opinion, kinds of civil religion, and conformity to either creed would depend upon a judg-

[15] *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis.* (*Collection de Documents Inédits* sur *l'histoire de France*), IX, 453.

[16] Devisme, *Histoire de la Ville de Laon*, cf. Chauviré, 77.

[17] *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile*, Tome V (Paris, 1878), 231.

ment in part, at least, political. If he conformed to Catholicism shortly before becoming royal proctor, in 1585 or 1586, this may have been because he concluded, for one reason or another, that Catholicism was a superior civil religion to Protestantism, that it was a better foundation for a just constitution and for good citizenship. An important, and so far ignored body of evidence exists to show that Bodin's experience in England and at Antwerp disillusioned him as to the excellence of Protestantism as the foundation of the best civil order.

Again and again, in the French edition of the *Six Books* (1576), written and published before Bodin had ever seen England, the author makes clear his admiration for English institutions, and his intimacy with Englishmen on mission in France. On the other hand, when Bodin first arrived in England, in the company of the Duke of Anjou's agent, Pierre Clausée, Sieur de Marchaumont (19 February, 1581), Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, took the trouble to refer to him, in a letter to Philip II, as "a great heretic, as is proved by the books he has written." Bodin seems to have been on terms of the greatest intimacy with Mr. Secretary Walsingham,[18] and with Queen Elizabeth herself. She is reported to have nicknamed him "Badin," on account of his attitude toward women, as expressed presumably in the *Methodus*.[19] A crisis in the relations of Bodin and the Queen seems to have developed as it became apparent that the Queen had no intention of fulfilling the real or supposititious engagement to marry his master, the Duke. Nevers tells the story: "And as, one day, Monsieur Bodin had been reasoning with her Majesty in his Highness's presence, and among other matters had said to her that he had in his hands a work containing the lives

[18] See his letter to Walsingham, 5 March, 1582, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1581-2.* no. 584.

[19] Nicéron. *Hommes Illustres.* However, Hoofts attributes the nickname to Christian Huyghens (1551-1624), private secretary of William of Orange, who was in England in 1581. "*Want hy toonde zich zoo grilligh en licht veyrdigh van zeeden en zinnen, dat de heer Christian Huyghens . . . en andre enstight persoonen, hem, voor Bodin, Badin (dat's bootsmaaker) noemden.*" Hoofts adds the common gossip that he "died a Jew." (*Nederlandsche Historien.* II Deel. Amsterdam, etc., 1703, 842-3. (Book 19.) Cf. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenbock,* I Deel, cols. 1179-80 (Leyden, 1911).

of the excellent and distinguished personages of our times and that in it he would not forget the graces, perfections, and heroic virtues that God had put into her Majesty, but that when he should come to touch on the marriage proposals, and to speak of the so solemn promises which had been made on one side and the other, he would not know how he should manage himself or what the world would say of it, the Queen replied on the spot: 'Do you know what will be said, Monsieur Bodin? That you will have believed a liar, and that a fool was the author.'" [20]

Blessed Edmund Campion was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, 1 December, 1581. Bodin tells us that he addressed the Queen, the "*optimates*," and "*Senatores*" of England in connection with these executions in the following terms (borrowed from his *Six Books*): "I will not here, in so great variety of people so much differing among themselves in religion [21] take upon me to determine which of them is the best (howbeit that there can be but one such, one truth, and one divine law, by the mouth of God published) [22] but if the prince, well assured of the truth of his religion, would draw his subjects thereunto, divided into sects and factions, he must not, therein, use force. For that the minds of men, the more they are forced, the more froward and stubborn they are, and the greater punishment that shall be inflicted upon them, the less good is to be done, the nature of man being commonly such as may of it selfe bee led to like of anything, but never enforced so to do." [23] We may, with a good deal of

[20] *Les Mémoires de Monsieur le duc de Nevers . . . Ie Partie* (Paris, 1665), 555.

[21] These words: "*in tanta populorum de religionibus inter se discrepantium, varietate*" (Book IV, Ch. 7. *De Republica* (1586), 483), have no equivalent in the French. (Lyon, 1593, 654.) They may well represent Bodin's actual rhetoric, as distinguished from the printed text.

[22] Also rhetorically elaborated in the Latin: "*quanquam quod verum sit, plus una esse non potest, et ad religionem adipiscendam quae vera quaeque praepotentis Dei voce promulgata sit, non disputationibus, sed assiduis ad Deum aeternum deorum omnium parentem ac principem rogationibus utendum.*"

[23] R. Knolles translation. (London, 1606.) The latter clause of this sentence is from the Latin only. The Latin continues with the statement: "*Haec mea fuit ad Elizabetham Anglorum reginam et ad optimates ac Se-*

reason, infer that when Bodin left England for the Low Countries, in February, 1582, he must have been disappointed with the Protestant government's policy of imprisoning and hanging Catholics.

He appears to have been still on sufficiently good terms with Walsingham to have written him the letter of 5 March, 1582, already referred to. Yet this ends on a menacing note: "I beseech you, for the sincere affection I bear to the good and safety of your state, to watch more than ever over its preservation, since it is as near as it ever was to inevitable dangers; of which I again beg you to take care before you are anticipated." Two days before, the English agent, Herle, wrote Leicester from Antwerp: "Bodin affirmed openly within these three days here, that before six months were come, we should be invaded with foreign and civil wars for our religion in England." [24] What could be the significance of these warnings unless Bodin foresaw that Elizabeth's intolerant policy of trying to force Protestant conformity in England would bring on England the same sorrows which a nominally Catholic government had brought upon France?

Arrived at Antwerp, Bodin seems soon to have been disturbed at the intolerant attitude of the Protestant government there in power. The citizens were obliged to take an oath, before they could go to Mass with the Duke "to abjure the Catholic King (Philip II) and all his party. The Calvinists hoped, by this oath, to exclude or trap the Catholics, believing that they would refuse to take it, that, by the same means, the Mass would be less well attended. But the Duke, upon the advice of Monsieur Jean Bodin, whom he had brought with him, desired that those who professed the so-called reformed religion, together with the colonels and captains, as well as the ministers, curates, and ecclesiastics, should make and take the same oath, and, besides, one that they would maintain freedom of religion." [25] We have already

natores oratio, cum de Campanio Iesuita deque catholicis quaestiones capitales, haberentur." For some reason, Knolles did not include this sentence (537).

[24] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series: 1581-2*, no. 574 (March 3, 1582).

[25] *Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas par Messire Renon (Ranulphe) de France, publiée par M. Charles Piot* (Brusells, 1891, III, 22). The text is: "*Les Calvinistes esperoient, par ledict serment, exclure ou impieger les Catho-*

seen how, according to the Protestant Hoofts, Huyghens and other important persons called Bodin "Badin," on the ground that he changed sides.[26] Everything seems to indicate that at Antwerp as at London, Bodin found and disapproved Protestant intolerance.

The question of Bodin's attitude toward the use of force by Anjou, to establish his position as Prince of the Netherlands in fact as well as in name, and the corollary question of whether he approved the display of force which resulted in the Tumult of Antwerp of 16 January, 1583, so disastrous to the Duke's forces, are necessarily relevant, in some degree, to the question of his religious opinions. Bodin says roundly in his letter to his brother-in-law describing the event that, while still in England, he advised Ste-Aldegonde, and Roc de Sorbies, Sieur des Pruneaux (the Duke's agent in the Netherlands), against the whole adventure. "I said to them that their negotiations would result in the ruin of our Prince and of the Low Countries, taking into account the difference of manners and humors of the two peoples, and the difference of religion, and the possession of liberty, which they would never give up." [27] Curiously a letter exactly corresponding in its errors to this of Bodin circulated as the production of the Sieur des Pruneaux, who belonged to the "moderate" wing of Anjou's following.[28]

licques, croians qu'ils eussent faict reffu de le prester, que par mesme moien la messe ne seroit sy frequentée; mais le Duc, par l'advis de M. Jean Bodin, qu'il avoit amené, desira ceux quy faisoient profession de la religion pretendue reformée, ensamble les colonels et capitaines, aussy bien que les ministres, curés et gens d'eglise fassent et prestassent le mesme serment, et en oultre qu'ils maintiendroient la religion freidt."

[26] Hoofts, *op. cit.* The historian adds a derogatory comment of his own: "*Oft Johan Bodin, zyn Raadsman dat gedreeven hebbe, zoud' ik niet kunnen zeggen: dit wel, dat zyn' groote geleertheit en wereltkunde niet scheenen hem daartoe te deftigh te maaken. . . . Ook meynt men vastelyk, dat hy Joodsch gestorven zy.*"

[27] Letter of Bodin to Trouillart, printed by Chauviré from *Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Dupuy*, vol. 157, fol. 134 sq., Chauviré, 528.

[28] *Documents concernant les relations entre le duc d'Anjou et les Pays-bas, 1576-1584, publiés par P. L. Muller et Alph. Diegerick.* (*Werken van het Historische Genootschap.* N. S. no. 60). The Hague, 1898, IV, 341.

Strada, the Jesuit historian, it is true, makes Bodin the spokesman for those lords of Anjou's company who wished the Duke to use force.[29] But the long speech which he puts in Bodin's mouth corresponds almost exactly with the speech attributed by Hoofts to Guillaume de Hautemer, Sieur de Fervacques, leader of the extreme "Catholic" wing of Anjou's court.[30] Strada's chronology seems confused. The protest supposedly voiced by Bodin was made just after Anjou had celebrated Christmas, 1582, yet the Tumult is referred to as having already occurred.[31] Grotius, further, is authority for the view that Bodin favored the Duke's practice of taking counsel outside his household, of which the Sieur de Fervacques was the most prominent member.

Bodin briefly summarized the lessons to be learned from the Tumult in a letter to someone in England, quite possibly Walsingham. This summary, as yet unpublished so far as I know, is contained in British Museum Sloan Ms. 2764, fol. 19. It is described in the *Catalogue* [32] and therefore, presumably, in the table of contents of the volume as: "*Copie des articles des missives envoyées en Angleterre par Jean Bodin après le fault du Duc d'Anjou à Anvers, 1583,*" but the folio itself bears only the title: "*Copie d'une lettre d'un françois escripte a ung sien amy en Angleterre.*" In a series of bitter sentences, each beginning "There (at Antwerp) we have known (*la s'est cognu*)," the author denounces the vanity and cowardice of Anjou's company, the unwisdom of a Prince "who puts his confidence in young people who have never seen the government of Republics," and the feebleness of the enterprise from a military standpoint.[33] He praises the prudence and magnanimity of the leaders of the Nether-

[29] *Histoire de la Guerre de Flandre*, V, 25-28.

[30] *Op. cit.*, 842-843.

[31] "*qu'il fist reflexion combien peu s'en etoit fallu dans le dernier tumulte d'Anvers. . . .*"

[32] P. 2069.

[33] Compare his letter to Walsingham, the year before: "It is true that his Highness is not come to enjoy himself, but for war with a powerful foe. . . . And if he has to face the enemy, being the stronger, . . . he will find it difficult to escape their hands, who stakes nothing as the price of his victory but some Albanian louts."

landers,[34] and remarks that "the people nourished in liberty which has arms in its hands becomes brave and magnanimous." "And above all," he concludes, "we have known that the Spaniard who causes us to perform these bloody tragedies mocks at us both, and triumphs by our pride and dishonor, whence he draws profit and pleasure together, at the cost of our blood and our lives. I pray God to give better counsel to our Prince hereafter." [35]

It should be remarked in passing that Bodin's evident fury at Spain helps to acquit him of the charge of being a Spaniard, hurled at him by the Sieur de Fervacques, in England, when he discouraged the Duke from going to the Netherlands.[35a] One could dismiss the charge as the words of an angry partisan, save for some curious evidence that the Spanish Ambassador in London seems to have tried to win Bodin to the Spanish side. Philip II wrote to Mendoza 19 November, 1581: "Your letters of 17 September and 1 October to hand. . . . An answer shall shortly be sent you about Bodin. In the meanwhile, keep him in hand." [36]

[34] During the Tumult, Bodin was safe inside the city, and says in his letter to Trouillart that he received every courtesy from his host, and was visited by advocates of the fisc, and two privy councillors "who came to console me and assure me of their assistance." He enjoyed the intimacy of William of Orange while at Antwerp, and refers, in the Latin version of the *Six Books*, to a story told him by William at Antwerp. (Book IV, ch. 2, Paris, 1586, 421.)

[35] The text: "*La s'est cognu la vanite et laschete des uns et la prudence et magnanimite des aultres. La s'est cognu la maxime de l'art militaire que les harquebuses, espees et dagues sans picques et halebardes sont inutiles. La s'est cognu que le peuple nourri en liberte qui a les armes en main devient courageus et magnanime. La s'est cognu qu'il n'y a rien plus furieus que le mastin quand on le veult arracher de son fumier. La s'est cognu que les francois avans perdu l'opinion de valeur loyaulte et prudence, ont acquis la reputation de vanite, laschete et perfidie. La s'est cognu que une entreprise esventree ne reuscit jamais a bien. La s'est cognu qu'il est dangereus a ung Prince de se fier de jeunes gens, qui n'ont jamais veu le gouvernement des republicques. Et surtout il s'est cognu que l'Espagnol qui nous faict jouer ces sanglants tragedies se brave des uns et des aultres, et triomphe de notre fierte et deshonneur, dont il tire prouffit et plaisir tout ensemble aux despens de nostre sang et nos vies. Je prie a dieu qu'il donne cy apres meilleur conseil a nostre Prince.*" It is written in a perfectly legible though somewhat ornate and perhaps deliberately archaised hand, evidently French. Abbreviations are few.

[35a] Bodin to Trouillart, in Chauviré.

[36] *Calendar of Letters and State Papers . . . preserved principally in the*

Lacking Mendoza's letters, and the promised "answer" of the King, we can do no more than hazard the explanation that Mendoza sensed Bodin's disappointment in the policy of the government of Elizabeth not only in the matter of the marriage with the Duke, but also, perhaps, on the subject of toleration, and that he hoped "to keep him in hand," by various practical inducements. Bodin seems not to have cared for Mendoza, and relates with relish, in the Latin version of the *Six Books,* an exchange between him and Bodin's friend, Valentine Dale (who had been ambassador to Paris, when Bodin was first writing the *Six Books*), in which the latter comes off decidedly the better.[37]

On 28 August, 1586, when Bodin was in retirement, and without employment, presumably at Laon, he was reported to have sent letters to several of his friends, dated "last day of the Queen of England." This (or the 27 August) was the day set, according to the confession under torture of Father John Ballard, on 4 August, for the culmination of the so-called Babington plot. The Venetian Ambassador wrote from Paris to the Doge and Senate 12 September, 1586:

> The English Ambassador [Stafford] has orders from his mistress to communicate these occurrences to his Most Christian Majesty [that is, Ballard's confession, and the arrest and imprisonment of Babington, which occurred toward the end of August] and to point out to him that . . . it would be right and proper for him to refuse asylum in his kingdom to men of such quality. Further the Ambassador is to beg for the arrest of Bodino, a literary person, who has written many books, and one on a republic; the charge is that several of his letters to his friends are dated: "August 28, last day of the Queen of England"; and they desire to receive from him an explanation of this date.[38]

Stafford wrote to Walsingham from Paris 26 September, 1586: "I send you an extract of a letter written from one where Bodin dwelleth [39] to a friend of mine, whom I made secretly try to get

Archives of Simancas, III, no. 166. This letter however is in the Paris Archives, K. 1447. 97.

[37] Book V, ch. 1 (Paris, 1586), 507 B.

[38] *Calendar of State Papers . . . in the Archives and Collections of Venice,* VIII (1581-1591), London, 1894, no. 407.

[39] Can Bodin have been in hiding, and not at Laon?

out of him 'whence he had the inspiration of her Majesty's end the 27 August, which I writ to you of long since.'" [40]

The Venetian Ambassador's account is, of course, somewhat confused. Letters dated in France on August 28 could hardly have come to the attention of Walsingham in time for him to have sent instructions to Stafford in regard to them by September 12, and it appears that Stafford had taken the initiative in connection with them "long" before September 26. But it seems to be past doubt that Bodin had knowledge either of Babington's plot or of Ballard's confession. The latter is most improbable, since Ballard confessed only on August 4, and the matter of his confession was kept secret until the arrest of Babington, later in the month. On the other hand, Bodin probably knew Babington, when he was in London, for Babington was at Elizabeth's court from 1580 until after the execution of Blessed Edmund Campion. Babington was also in Paris in 1585, and there also Bodin may well have been, supervising the printing of the Latin version of the *Six Books*. The interest attaching to Bodin's apparent foreknowledge of the projected date of Elizabeth's murder is the strong hint it gives us that when the plot was being hatched, Bodin's Catholic profession was well enough known, at least in certain circles, to permit him to share in the dangerous secret. And Bodin did not reveal his knowledge until the very day upon which the plot was to culminate, and then still presumably in ignorance of Ballard's arrest and confession! When, more than twenty years before, he was writing the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, he expressed the opinion that the English had violated the laws of God and nature by permitting Mary and Elizabeth to rule them.[41] Must he not now have reached the opinion that Elizabeth was also a tyrant *ab exercitio*, and therefore have sympathized with the plot to destroy her? Such, as we shall presently see, came to be his opinion of King Henry III of France.

Philippe Harduyn de Saint-Jacques, a physician, left behind

[40] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1586-1588*, 94.
[41] Ch. 6 (Paris, 1572), 397.

him two volumes of miscellaneous materials copied by himself, bearing for the most part on events in France during the religious wars. These are now volumes 4895 and 4897 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* Manuscripts *"Ancien Fonds Français."*[42] In the second of these are six letters of Bodin, occupying folios 34 v. to 37 v. inclusive. The last is a transcription of the printed letter, published in 1590, explaining Bodin's reasons for joining the League.[43] The first, both in date and in the collection, was written from Laon either on Sunday, 26 March, 1589, or a day or so before, and was probably addressed to Barnabé Brisson, who, since the imprisonment of Achille de Harlay, by the Committee of Sixteen who ruled the League, was acting first president of the Parlement de Paris. Like the following four, it has, so far as I know, never been printed.

The letter opens with an account of the administration of the League's oath, the oath of union, to the people of Laon, on Tuesday, 24 March, 1589, consequent upon the reception of a decree received the preceding Sunday from the *de facto* Parlement de Paris. Bodin understands that the delay in administering it displeased the Council of Sixteen, and explains that circumstances seemed to preclude earlier action. The party of the King argued that the object was to bring civil war to Laon, that the Parlement could not have approved the oath, since its chief (de Harlay) and several members were imprisoned, that the Parlement had previously sent an oath of union with the King and had not yet revoked it. To these arguments, Bodin adds that the people have always had a natural affection for their king, whatever kind of sovereign he might be, and that he himself had hoped that the King could come to some accord with the Princes of the League and with the Parlement, and avoid ruining "the flower of the whole world," France.

But when it appeared that the King had no other end save to destroy his people, a change of mind occurred, especially upon receipt of the decree. The Bishop and clergy as well as the magistrates of Laon, anxious to conform to "your orders," re-

[42] *Catalogue des Manuscrits Ancien Fonds* (Paris, 1895), IV, 367, 374.
[43] Folios 36 r. to 37 v.

quested Bodin to address the people, assembled for the purpose of taking the oath. Immediately after his address, the oath was taken and signed, "*summa omnium ordinum consensione,*" and the fear of riot and massacre in which the people stood was dispelled. Bodin put at the head of his argument the sovereign principle: "*Salus populi suprema lex esto.*" To remove the fear that the city would be punished for rebellion, he argued that "a universal rebellion cannot be called a rebellion. The union of so many cities and peoples cannot be punished, especially in view of the fact that all the Parlements of the kingdom, which are the strong guardians of the law, were united, including your own," and he showed to the best of his ability "the greatness, authority, wisdom, and experience," of the Parlement of Paris. These were banded together "for the preservation of religion and the estate of this kingdom. And having this end in view, it was not necessary to debate, after you, the power of the Prince, nor the oath, after the resolution of the Sorbonne, as authorized by the Pope and the Holy Consistory of Cardinals, which resolution I had in hand."

Bodin goes on to express the view that, having taken the oath, Laon is safer than Paris, and expresses concern for that city and for his correspondent. Yet "*nisi me auguria fallunt, sed non fallunt,* you have nothing to fear, and even less the city of Paris." [44] "For having made peculiar research into the whole estate of this city, I have found that it is beyond human power to ruin it, and that God keeps it and looks upon it with a kindly eye, not for its riches, nor for its greatness, for other cities exist and will exist which are ten times richer and greater, since it has not trade with all the cities of Europe; nor for the cultivated experts in all sciences and all arts who inhabit it; but for three things. . . . The first of these is the fear of God; the second, charity toward the poor and afflicted; and the third, equitable justice.

"As for the first, nowhere else is there a like devotion. I have

[44] If, as seems probably, Barnabé Brisson is the correspondent, he had indeed more to fear than Paris, for, becoming suspect by the Sixteen, he was (15 November, 1591) arrested at 9, was confessed at 10, and hanged at 11 in the morning.

seen a Polish Ambassador who was a Huguenot, and who was astonished by the devotion of this people." [45] Bodin's praise of the devotion of the Parisians is the more significant of the state of his own mind that that devotion was entirely Catholic. "I am well aware," he continued, "that there are certain vices offsetting the three first points, which obscure its splendor, and will, in the end, cause its ruin. These are the traffic in money,[46] and incontinence. However, the happy Day of the Barricades [47] which many detest, like a swift torrent, has cleansed the lazy city of the greatest filthinesses, and has driven out the thieves and the vermin of the Court who waste all cities."

"But as for the King," and these sentences are underlined, "I hold that his ruin is near and inevitable. For God, who gives the fear of kings, has withdrawn it entirely from his people, and will withdraw whatever is left of the fear of the Magistrates, as will be seen before the year is out. The other point is that He has

[45] This was probably the celebrated Jan Zamoyski (1541-1605), referred to in the *Six Books* (Book VI, ch. 5, Lyon, 1593, 976). "*Les Pollaques qui eslisent les Rois, doublent les peines pour les forfaits advenus pendant l'election . . . comme j'ay appris du seigneur Zamoschy Pollaque Ambassadeur en France.*" Compare the Latin version (Paris, 1586, 718) "*ut quidem Zamoscum nunc quidem Poloniae Cancellarium, tunc vero in Gallia legatum.*" The occasion of this meeting was when in August, 1573, Bodin was in the party of the then Duke of Anjou (later Henry III) and Charles des Cars, Bishop of Langres, which met the Polish Embassy, come to offer the crown to the Duke, at Metz, and accompanied it back to Paris. Bodin probably wrote the address which the Bishop delivered, 8 August, his "translation" of it from Latin to French being published in Paris, 1573. (Cf. Chauviré, 35-6). In the Polish embassy was also Solomon Zborowski, whom Bodin also consulted. (French version, Lyon, 1593, 540, book IV, ch. 1). His kinsman, Samuel, was put to death for treason in 1585, at the instance of Jan Zamoyski, and, significantly, Bodin does not mention his name in the Latin version of the *Six Books*. (Paris, 1586, 391.) So far as I know, the Zborowski were Catholic, not Huguenot.

[46] A bourgeois of the old school, Bodin was the implacable foe of money-changers and bankers. Cf. Book VI, ch. 2 of the *Six Books*.

[47] 12 May, 1588. Since Bodin narrowly escaped assassination (see above, 164) on that occasion, it can hardly have been a "happy day" for him in any personal sense. In his printed letter of 1590 (January 20) he counts the year which began on the Day of the Barricades as the first of the seven-year period of "troubles" upon which his system of prediction depended. Ms. Fr. 4897, f. 36 v. (I have not seen the printed version and rely upon the MS. copy of it.)

taken judgment from him and from his counsel, as you can see from the grave and capital incongruities in the things which he has done and continues to do." There follows a pointed application of the text in Job: "Who maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people"?[48] to the King. God will take away his sceptre and crown, and will bring to his armies "terror, flight, and death, though they were of a hundred thousand men. . . . And just as last year, the soldiers died of hunger and of cold, so this year, they will die of thirst and of the heat to which the year is disposed.

"There is talk of the menace of the King of Navarre, but wrongly and without cause . . . for he will never gain the Crown for reasons which you know better than I. And besides, he has done a great wrong, in which he persists, to wit that he has not the fear of God, and sports at men of the Church, and this is a fire in his house which will consume it.

"This I believe decreed in order to continue the preservation of this poor state which has lasted six hundred years since Capet. For this year, it is the six hundredth since the last king successor to Charlemagne was taken prisoner in this city by favor of the Bishop.[49] And the present King is the sixty-third since Pharamond, a number which I have believed and published in my writings to be as climacteric for monarchies as for the lives of individuals.[50] I say not that necessity is involved, since their sceptres are all in the hand of God, to give and take away when and to

[48] Ch. 34, verse 30. Bodin does not quote the Vulgate verbally, but writes "Qui facit regnare hypocritam propter peccata populi."

[49] In 990 (perhaps 991), Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon, won the confidence of Charles of Lorraine, uncle of Louis V "Fainéant," and betrayed both Charles and Laon, of which he was in possession, to Hugh Capet.

[50] This point is developed in the printed letter of 1590. "*Et le feu Roi estoit à bien (?) compter depuis Pharamond jusques a lui, le 63e en ordre. Le Roi qui estoit Prince curieux et qui aimait (?) tout savoir comme jadis le Roi Loys onziesme (des humeurs duquel il tenoit beaucoup) avoit leu mon livre, a ce que m'a dit un grand Seigneur de ce Royaume, portant tiltre de Mareschal de France adjoutant qu'il avoit bien remarque ce passage, mais qu'il se moquait de tout cela, et qu'il esperoit finir ses jours en repos.*" The passage referred to is in the *Six Books*, Book IV, ch. 2, *passim*. "Pharamond" stood at the head of the traditional annalists' list of kings of the Franks, four or five generations ahead of Clovis.

whom He pleases. If it be evident that ordinarily *omnia certis ponderibus, numeris, et legibus continuari,* I carry all things back to the judgment of God, whom I hold for warranty of the things which I have so freely written you, for having known you some thirty years, as friend and colleague; and now that illustrious and great dignity has been given to you, I desire to be counted in the same friendship." [51]

The second letter, in date, the third in the manuscript,[52] was written from Laon 15 August, 1589, two weeks after the assassination of Henry III at St. Cloud, and was also probably addressed to Brisson:

I have been afraid that your city might be constrained to capitulate [to Henry of Navarre] on hard conditions for want of foodstuffs, having heard that a pound of butter was sold at fifteen shillings (*solz*). But God be praised, Who has delivered us from the power of a clever and dangerous Tyrant. I have heard that the city of Paris has had great joy of it. We can well praise God and thank Him, and admire His judgments. But I dare not rejoice too much, having read in the Bible that he who rejoices in another's misfortune never escapes punishment. This is why Job protested before God that he had never rejoiced in the calamity of his enemies.[53]

To tell the truth, we have five more years of the war [54] and will see the death of most of the princes and the nobility, and some cities forced by others, or punished by their own inhabitants. For God has come down from heaven to do Justice on earth, and, at last, will give us a King at His

[51] Apart from the obvious fact that Bodin's correspondent was a member of the Parlement who remained in Paris after the withdrawal thence of the King and the imprisonment of de Harlay, this reference to his recent dignity, presumably *de facto* first presidency of the Parlement points clearly to Barnabé Brisson. He was about a year younger than Bodin (born 1531) and they apparently became acquainted at Toulouse, where Bodin was from 1548 to 1561. Cujas despised Brisson as he did Bodin, and Brisson probably took Bodin's side in the famous quarrel at Toulouse. Cf. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1855), *s. v.* "Brisson," and literature there referred to.

[52] Ms. Fr. 4897, f. 35r.-35 v.

[53] The recurrence of Job suggests that the correspondent is the same as in the first letter.

[54] In the printed letter, dated 20 January, 1590, the "oracle and prophecy," which Bodin says may seem a "dream," that the war will last seven years from the Day of the Barricades is developed at length, by the familiar arithmological hypothesis of seven as a climacteric number. The dating of the next letter depends somewhat on this prediction.

pleasure, and one who is not now expected; and those who now think they will attain to it will not touch it.

From the printed letter, it seems likely that Bodin had the Duke of Mayenne, leader of the League armies, in mind as God's candidate for the throne. There, after reviewing the enemies of the League in France and abroad, he embarks on a eulogy of the Duke:

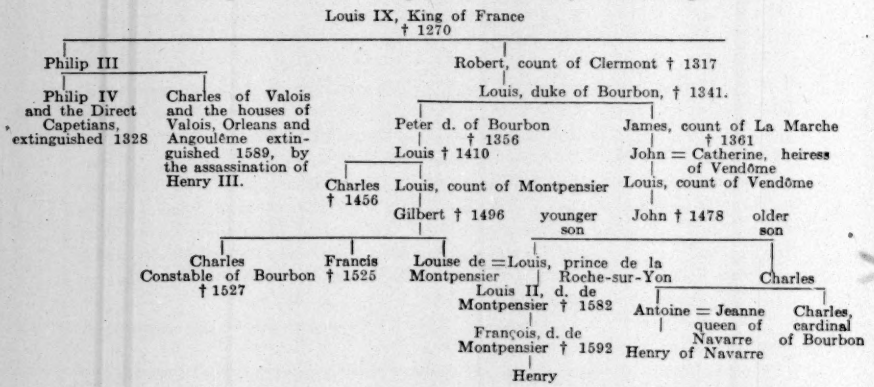
a Prince endowed with very great virtues, both of body and of spirit, one of the best Captains of Christendom, who has never besieged a place that he has not taken, who, by his own fault, has often gained, never lost, just as he has often repaired the faults of others; and whom it seems that God wills to preserve, to be protector of Religion and of the State, as was once that Charles Martel, who had the same name as he.[55]

The letter to Brisson continues:

Yet I am amazed that the Council of the Union and those who control the Cardinal of Bourbon have not persuaded him to repudiate the Crown. For by so doing, he would make way for the Duke of Montpensier and for his son.[56] If this had been done, the Duke of Montpensier would not only

[55] Ms. Fr. 4897. f. 36 v. Since Martel was really the founder of the second French "race," and since Bodin was clearly of the opinion that the war would result in the establishment of a fourth "race," the analogy is startling.

[56] The following table seems indispensable to clarify Bodin's argument:


Louis IX, King of France † 1270
Philip III
Robert, count of Clermont † 1317
Philip IV and the Direct Capetians, extinguished 1328
Charles of Valois and the houses of Valois, Orleans and Angoulême extinguished 1589, by the assassination of Henry III.
Louis, duke of Bourbon, † 1341.
Peter d. of Bourbon † 1356
James, count of La Marche † 1361
Louis † 1410
John = Catherine, heiress of Vendôme
Charles † 1456
Louis, count of Montpensier
Louis, count of Vendôme
Gilbert † 1496
younger son
John † 1478
older son
Charles Constable of Bourbon † 1527
Francis † 1525
Louise de Montpensier
=Louis, prince de la Roche-sur-Yon
Charles
Louis II, d. de Montpensier † 1582
Antoine = Jeanne queen of Navarre
Charles, cardinal of Bourbon
François, d. de Montpensier † 1592
Henry of Navarre
Henry

Thus Francis, Duke of Montpensier, was first cousin once removed of Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, second cousin of Henry of Navarre, in the younger, cadet, line of Bourbon-Vendôme. His descent, through his grandmother,

have preserved the Catholic religion but would have weakened by half the party of the King of Navarre, who cannot get the throne, unless the Cardinal of Bourbon has it first, which will be for the three days he has, perhaps, to live, yet will assure the Crown to the King of Navarre, who is a degree farther from it than the Duke of Montpensier. And again, if the Cardinal had died before the last King, and the King of Navarre, who is at the 14th degree, had been at the 13th like the Duke of Montpensier, it would come about that the Duke of Montpensier, being the elder, would have taken the Crown, as is the rule in Kingdoms, Duchies, and other individual fiefs.

In the printed letter, Bodin makes clear that he is counting degrees not by the ordinary civil law method, but "from (*depuis*) St. Louis, the King," from father to son.[57] He seems to put in three or four non-existent degrees, on this basis, when he makes the Cardinal in the thirteenth and the King of Navarre in the fourteenth, but he is right as to their relative proximity to St. Louis. In the letter under consideration, he is quite evidently in error as to the "degree" of Francis of Montpensier, which is identical with that of the King of Navarre. The Duke of Montpensier is not mentioned in the printed letter, so Bodin seems to have recognized the mistake.

The letter continues with an exposition of the law that as between cousins the elder takes the inheritance, and an affirmation (elaborated in the printed letter) that "representation in collateral succession has never been recognized by the customs of France or by the common law, until last descendants are reached."

"But I doubt not," he writes, "that laws and customs will have any more force than in the verses of old Ennius:

'Tollitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res. Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur.

Non ex jure manu concertant (*sic*!) *sed magis ferro. Rem repetunt, regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi.'*[58]

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from the elder Bourbon line, meant nothing, because of the Salic Law, invalidating succession through women to the French throne.

[57] Ms. Fr. 4897, f. 36 v.

[58] The whole passage, assigned by Vahlen (*Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*, Leipzig, 3d ed. 1928) to Book VIII of the *Annales* (lines 268-273), found in Aulus Gellius, Book XX, 10, reads:

"pellitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res,

And since we are on a high mountain [Laon stands about 330 feet above the surrounding plain] which cannot be mined, sapped, nor assaulted, I do not believe that we shall fall into the hands of our enemies, and have to leave our house, to return to Paris, on horseback.[59] However, that would be for me a pleasant banishment, affording (?) the good of seeing you in good health, and your family. How I pray God to keep you; kissing your hands this 15th day of August, 1589. Your affectionate friend and servant. J. B."

The second letter in the manuscript, though undated, is third in point of date, since it refers to the unauthorized printing of Bodin's letter of 20 January, 1590, and indicates that four more years of war may be expected. If Bodin was reckoning carefully, it may be placed after the second anniversity of the Day of the Barricades, 12 May, 1590. At the end of it, Bodin describes himself as "brother" of the addressee, a word used in no other letter. In the first sentence, he asks for news of that Monsieur

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spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur;
haud doctis dictis certantes, sed maledictis
miscent inter sese inimicitiam agitantes;
non ex iure manum consertum, sed magis ferro
rem repetunt regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi."

This has been rendered by E. H. Warmington (*Remains of Old Latin*, Loeb Classical Library, I, 99):

"When news of battles is proclaimed, away from view Wisdom is thrust, with violence is action done, scorned is the speaker of good counsel, dear is the rude warrior. Not with learned speeches do men strive, but with evil speaking fall foul one of another, brewing unfriendliness. They rush to make joint seizure—not by law; rather by sword do they seek a due return and aim at the first place, and move on with pack and press."

Cicero (*pro Murena*, XIV, 30) also cites a portion of the same passage: "*pellitur e medio . . . sapientia: vi geritur res: spernitur orator . . . bonus: horridus miles amatur: . . . Non ex jure manum consertum, sed ferro . . . rem repetunt.*" A variant reading of this passage gives "tollitur" for "pellitur," as in Bodin's quotation. Oddly enough, there seems no such variant for the reading of Gellius. Bodin, it will be observed, quotes more than Cicero, and must have relied either on Gellius or on the Étienne edition of 1564 of *Fragmenta Poetarum Veterum Latinorum*, which includes Ennius. In that case, must there not have been a reading of "tollitur" for "pellitur" also in Gellius, which modern editors have ignored?

[59] Here, as elsewhere, I have had to conjecture some words terminating the lines on the backs of the leaves, owing to the binding of the volume.

d'Ogier (Dauger) who had "saved his life" on the Day of the Barricades. He and his family are safe, under God's protection, but have undergone great losses, "through the thieves which I see at last losing their lives a few at a time." The year we have escaped is only a game. "For the four years which remain, in my opinion, will be much more difficult to pass. It is true that I think there will be a forced peace which will not last long, any more than have the other ten treaties made in the past thirty years. For all the Princes of Christendom are banded one against the other. It is true that we have the three principal ones with us, to wit, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, who has more subjects, and three times more land than the greatest Prince who ever was. Victory depends on God, who, without doubt, will reveal a turn of His hand, for the sake of Religion,[60] and will punish those who, on either side, are covering their ambitions and their thefts under the veil of Religion.

"Nevertheless, I complain that letters to Paris have been published under my name, of whose content I know not. I would like to see what they are and it seems to me that those to whom I sent them, if they are mine, have wronged me, or those who published them under my name if they are not mine, unless they judge that the letters will serve the public. If I knew that they might bring us a good and happy end of this so cruel war, I should do nothing else but write; and if ink failed me, I should write with my blood instead."

The letter continues:

So I pray God every day that it may please Him to ruin all His enemies, because there is none other than He alone who can know them well. If He does so, His own will live a few days in peace, after He shall have punished one enemy by another, as He says: '*Ulciscar inimicos meos, per inimicos meos.*'[61] For never has He done finer justice than He does at present, who causes proud cities, which were dissolved in all sorts of pleasures, to reduce themselves to modest footing; and those which have never been willing to fast voluntarily, now fast perforce, and those which have never given alms, ask them. In short, all the Judges of France

[60] "*puisqu'il y va de la Religion.*" Is the text corrupt?

[61] Such concordances as I have available have not enabled me to locate this text.

could not judge so many guilty to death as the war will cause to die in four or five years.[62]

The fourth letter, dated 7 November, 1591 from Laon, was probably, as the fifth letter (12 January, 1593) was certainly directed to Monsieur d'Ogier. The latter,[63] after inquiring after the recipient's health, and that of his son-in-law, and his whole family, introduces to him the bearer, probably a student of Bodin, whom the late King had made an advocate of the *bailliage* of Laon, and a person to whom he could speak freely. He concludes by remarking that they are now in the fifth year of "our civil wars," and that the year must bring a notable change, through peace, "as I am assured that before the end of the same, *it will be necessary to bend or break.*" (The italics are in the manuscript). It is by this phrase that Bodin's correspondent can be identified. Pierre de l'Estoile wrote in his journal for Sunday, 4 April, 1593: "Today, Monsieur Dauger" (d'Ogier) "advocate in the Court of the Parlement of Paris showed a friend of mine letters which I have seen, which Monsieur Bodin wrote him from the city of Laon in Picardy, by which he informed him that the revolution of the year would not pass without our having a rest, and those that would not break, though they had to, would be constrained to bend." [64]

The letter concludes: "Your affectionate companion, servant, and old friend, J. B." The fourth letter concludes: "Your affectionate servant and best friend, J. B.," and opens with an inquiry as to the news of his correspondent and his family, and the hope that they are good. "So true it is," he continues, "that in so general a calamity, each feels only his particular one, and especially your city, rather the flower of France, even of Europe, which has lost many of its graces and beauties. So it is needful by all means to preserve it, as I hope will be the case, since it has so far escaped. As for ours, the enemy's army has been within two or three leagues, and always passed on, shooting, as they say was what happened at Rouen. But it seems to me that this is less

[62] Ms. Fr. 1897, fol. 35 v.
[63] Both are on fol. 35 v. of the Ms. cited.
[64] *Mémoires-Journaux*, V, 231.

a war than civil murder, wishing to besiege cities in winter, wintering in the country, camping without tents, leaving the whole countryside pillaged, burned, sacked, in order easily to starve an army, or see it perish of cold, plague, and famine. Folk who take such pains to ruin themselves in ruining us cannot be much wept.

"I have counted sixty-eight great lords, beginning with kings and princes (?) who have died since the wars began, without including common gentlemen, magistrates, and officials. And if the war continues another two years, as I do not deny, we shall rather perish. . . . And then France will be in danger of being prey to foreigners. For the Frenchman is ill adapted to making and maintaining Leagues, and is incompatible to Aristocracies and Democracies. That is why I hold it for quite certain that God will give us a King, peaceable in his Estate, within two years. I foresee, indeed, that there will be talk of peace at the end of this year and the beginning of next, but its execution will not be achieved so soon. However, I pray God that I may be proved mistaken."

Bodin proved correct enough, both in the short run prophecy of 12 January, 1593, and the long run prophecy of the earlier letters. The abjuration of Protestantism by the King of Navarre occurred 23 July, 1593, and on the last day of that month the truce of La Villette was entered into. On the other hand, the Duke of Mayenne did not submit until October, 1595, something more than seven years from the Day of the Barricades.

It would be necessary to attribute to the author of these letters an hypocrisy which reveals itself nowhere else in Bodin's writings to come to any other conclusion than that his adherence to the League and to its partisans was not only genuine but wholehearted. Nor does it even seem safe to affirm that that adherence was devoid of religious significance. After all, it is the Catholic piety of Paris which, he believes, contributes to that city's greatness; and his antagonism to Henry of Navarre appears to be due at least as much to that prince's attitude toward the Catholic Church as to the doubtfulness of his title. On the other hand, Bodin's own piety, as manifested in these letters and elsewhere,

has more of a Jewish mystical, than of a Catholic, flavor, and the story that he "died a Jew" has at least a certain mythical value.

Yet the most enlightening passage of all in these letters is that in which Bodin, while attributing all thing's to God's judgment, nevertheless affirms that ordinarily events proceed in accordance with certain numbers, weights and laws. For this is Bodin's ultimate creed: that the divine Intelligence manifests itself in history, and above all in human history. In the portentous times when these letters were written, Bodin must have thought not merely that Catholicism was the best "civil religion" for his countrymen but that, in a far deeper sense, Catholicism was at once the history and destiny of France.

SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN.

MISCELLANY

THE FRENCH CLERGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

One of the favorite themes of Archbishop Ireland's addresses and writings was reconciliation between the Church and Modern Society.[1] He rejoiced in the unlimited possibilities of development which he saw for the Catholic Church in democratic America and, in his sympathy for Europe and for France where he had received his classical and ecclesiastical training, he wished to see the Church of France frankly accept the democratic institutions which were everywhere in the ascendant, and avail itself of the opportunities which had made possible the magnificent development of Catholicism in the United States.

The dream of the American archbishop was not fulfilled. Before his death the Church of France suffered persecution, just as in our own day we see the wave of anti-Clericalism engulfing the Church in Mexico and in Spain, and in both cases the alleged motive has been the essential incompatibility between the Church and democracy. As for democracy it has been wiped out in Italy and Germany, and in other countries it is seriously threatened by fascism and communism.

The Catholic historian, seeking to determine the causes of that unfortunate divorce between the Church and the modern world, will find a partial solution of this problem in a recent work which deals with the French clergy and modern society.[2] The very wording of the question which Abbé Brugerette attempts to answer: Why and through what steps has the French clergy become alienated from the modern world?—sets the author among those who, like Archbishop Ireland, have dreamt of a reconciliation between the Church and modern society. His answer is a challenging one. Depending on the angle from which one views the answer given to the problem, one will sympathize with the efforts made by churchmen who saw the modern world slipping further and further away from Christianity and who attempted to show how much of the so-called modern ideas and ideals—liberty, democracy, social justice—is really Christian in inspiration, and will lament the blindness of those who opposed these efforts; or, on the contrary, one will feel shocked at the reckless spirit of compromise which led men apparently to sacrifice eternal truths and values in return

[1] Ireland, Most Rev. John, *The Church and Modern Society* (Chicago and New York, 1896).

[2] Brugerette, J., *Le Prêtre Français et la Société contemporaine:* Tome I. *La Restauration catholique, 1815-1871*, Paris, 1933, pp. viii-312; Tome II. *Vers la Séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, 1871-1908*, Paris, 1935, pp. xii-637; Tome III. *Après la Séparation*, in preparation. Published by the firm of P. Lethielleux.

for a peace which could never be a real peace, and which in the end was never won. Every country since the French Revolution has seen this division of opinions and policies, which might better be called a conflict of ideals; but one may wonder if anywhere during the nineteenth century it reached the proportions which it attained in France. The historian need not take sides; he may appreciate the *pro* and *con* of each conception of what ought to be the relations between the Church and particularly the clergy and the various forms of civic organization in the modern world: state, schools, business and labor—and likewise between the Church and modern movements in philosophy, science, literature, art, etc. The conservative need not always be called reactionary because he clings to tradition, nor does the progressive always deserve the epithet of revolutionary. The so-called "Bourbon," who is supposed to learn nothing and to forget nothing, is not necessarily blind to the true interests of Church and society, nor is the liberal who has appropriated Bishop Dupanloup's motto: *Cherchons ce qui rapproche et non ce qui divise*, always a dangerous visionary and still less a traitor.

Abbé Brugerette does not conceal his sympathy for the liberal school, though he is far from being consistent in his appreciation of the men whose work and influence he has undertaken to portray. His praises and his criticisms are tempered with qualifications which leave the reader somewhat puzzled. The work is not by any means a master piece of composition; it is not likely to take a place in what the French call *la grande histoire*, and on the whole it rather gives the impression of a compilation. Among other things the reader will miss in the second volume is the bibliography which, given at the end of each chapter, made the first volume so useful for the study of each period. But, in spite of its imperfections, the work deserves attention, its principal merit lying in the fact that it states the problem most clearly, and, whether the reader agrees with the author's views or not, it gives the elements of an answer.

In the short space allotted to us, it would be rash to essay a solution of our own of the problem which the author calls "the problem of the divorce between the French clergy and modern Society." We are inclined to view it merely as an episode of the mighty struggle which has been going on from the beginning of Christianity between the "Two Cities", which has taken in each age and country a form appropriate to existing conditions, and which seems destined to go on. When it reached its acutest form in France at the beginning of the century, observers may have been inclined to severity in their judgment of the French clergy and of French Catholicism; but now that it has spread to Germany where Catholic organization seemed to have reached a degree of perfection that stood as a pattern for other countries to imitate, and to Spain which was looked upon as the last rampart of the union between Church and State, and when observers who

are not alarmists detect certain omens of its coming even over this land of liberty, the crisis which the French clergy had to face will perhaps be viewed more objectively and the manner in which they met it will be judged with greater sympathy. We shall attempt merely to outline that crisis.

In a recent issue of the *New York Times Magazine* (August 16, 1936), André Maurois, commenting upon the recent arrival to power of the Popular Front in France, wrote: "The French Revolution lives on. Its ideas, assailed right and left, remain potent to-day". These words seem to give the key to the understanding of the period of France's religious history which is covered in Abbé Brugerette's volumes. In a century and a half, France has experienced four major revolutions followed by four attempts to restore, in part at least, the old order: the Revolution of 1789 and the First Empire, itself followed by the restoration of the Monarchy; the Revolution of 1830, and the establishment of the Liberal Monarchy; the Revolution of 1848 and the establishment of the Second Empire; the Revolution of 1870 followed by the Commune of 1871 and the founding of the Third Republic. None of those revolutions was merely political or social; all of them may be viewed as episodes in the conflict between the Christian and the secularistic conceptions of the individual and of the social life, and in one true sense the whole history of France since the Great Revolution is the story of that protracted conflict. The French Revolution lives on; and this is so true that, for the greater part, the different governments set up as reactions against the excesses of the revolutions which they followed were more secularistic than Christian in their policies, so that all through that nineteenth century the task of the Church in France was to defend the positions she still held, and to strive to reconquer those which she had lost. She was, in the true sense of the word, a militant Church; and the picture which impresses itself on the mind of the reader of Abbé Brugerette's study is the picture of a Church true to her trust, holding her own and winning victories against terrible odds.

In spite of its name, the French Restoration which covers the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X (1815-1830) was, according to an anonymous author of 1828 who anticipated the judgment of André Maurois, "nothing but the continuation under a new form of the Revolution." Faith had been deeply shaken; it was kept alive in certain circles, but both the masses and the cultivated classes were the prey to religious indifferentism; the episcopate had retained for a great part the Gallican tradition, which did not by any means exclude loyalty to the Holy See. The French bishops had given a striking manifestation of this loyalty at the time of the Concordat of 1801 by renouncing their Sees and permitting the Sovereign Pontiff to recast entirely the ecclesiastical map of the country and to reduce by half the number of French dioceses. They addressed themselves to the task of reawakening the faith of their people by organizing numerous missions and

above all by providing for the education of the clergy in spite of the severe restrictions which the State monopoly of education, inherited from the Napoleonic regime, placed upon them. Two priests give lustre to the Church of France in that period: the one, Lamennais, took the lead in apologetics by the publication of his *Essay on Religious Indifferentism*, and vied with Joseph de Maistre in fostering among the clergy and the faithful absolute obedience to the directions of the Holy See; the other was the saintly Abbé Vianney, who took charge of his parish at Ars in 1818 and did so much to restore the prestige of the country pastor. The Church had been impoverished by the confiscation of her possessions and the government had only meagerly provided for the needs of the clergy; her influence in State affairs was very little and yet, due to the lingering anti-Clerical prejudices, the restoration of the Society of Jesus and its being given charge of some "Petits Seminaires" brought upon her the suspicions of the Liberal press and of Parliament and was made the pretext for the hostility which was exhibited toward her at the fall of the Bourbon dynasty in the revolution of 1830.

The wave of anti-Clericalism which accompanied that Revolution was not a good omen for the future of the Church under Louis-Philippe (1830-1848), and yet, it is to that troubled period that the Catholic revival in France in the nineteenth century can be traced. As the charter of the new monarchy was based on liberty, the Church of France, through the great leaders who were given her by Providence in that emergency, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert and Ozanam, appealed to common law and claimed the right of availing herself of the liberties, which had been recognized by the charter: liberty of conscience, liberty of teaching, liberty of the press, liberty of association. *L'Avenir*, edited by Lamennais and his friends, became the champion of these liberties, and if, at times, it exceeded the limits of propriety and thus brought upon its editors the censure of Pope Gregory XVI, it may be credited with having acclimated the idea of liberty in the minds of French Catholics. Fortunately Lamennais alone was shaken in his faith by the condemnation; his friends submitted loyally and their services were not lost to the cause of Catholicism. Two of them, Lacordaire and Montalembert, had not been satisfied with their apostolate through the press. In May 1831, in an effort to break the state monopoly of education, they opened a private school. That school was ordered closed by State authority, but public opinion was stirred, and again and again, in 1836, in 1841, in 1844, in 1847, the question of the freedom of teaching was brought before the French Parliament. Victory had to wait till the Revolution of 1848, but these years of debate were needed to break down the opposition of the Liberal Party. Meanwhile another liberty, the liberty of embracing the religious life, was publicly recognized in 1844, when Lacordaire resumed his Conferences of Notre Dame de Paris in the garb

of a Dominican friar, while Père de Ravignan answered the ignoble charges proffered by Eugène Sue against the Society of Jesus in his novel *The Wandering Jew*, and secured for his brethren the right to continue their work under certain restrictions.

Coincident with this political reawakening of the French Catholics there was in the French clergy an intellectual revival of which we find an evidence in the success of Catholic publications, such as De Genoude's translation of the Bible; of new editions of classical works on asceticism, and above all of Abbé Migne's monumental religious *Encyclopédie*, which comprised the two Patrologies, Greek and Latin, and some 168 volumes of dictionaries on almost every conceivable subject. It was a work of vulgarisation which brought to the hands of the intellectual workers of the latter part of the nineteenth century and of our own day the sources which were indispensable for the renewal of Catholic scholarship. Just as the success of the first group of publications bears witness to the piety of the French clergy of that period, so is the success of Migne's enterprise a proof of their intellectual interests and preoccupations.

The progress of liberal ideas in the French clergy and the length they had gone in regaining the popular favor were evidenced in the first months of the Revolution of 1848. In 1830, the Church had been as violently assaulted as the monarchy; in 1848, the Liberal monarchy was overthrown, but the altars were respected. In return the bishops promptly accepted the new regime, while all through the provinces priests were invited to bless the trees of liberty and the standards of the National Guard, and in many *Departments* bishops and priests were elected members of the Assembly which was to frame the Constitution of the new Republic. Unfortunately that idyll between the French Church and the French democracy was of short duration. The laboring class put up demands which could not be granted by an assembly which was in the majority conservative. A bloody insurrection broke out in June 1848, in which the red flag of communism was raised. The heroic death of the Archbishop of Paris, Msgr. Affre, on the barricades failed to impress the masses and most of the clergy were led to dread communism and anarchy while the feeling was fostered among the workers that the Church had no sympathy even with their legitimate aspirations. This feeling was intensified, in the following year, by the sending, against the opposition of the Liberal party and of the laborers, of a French expedition to Rome to restore the Sovereign Pontiff who had been driven out by the Revolution, and, three years later, by the favor with which the French clergy and most Catholic leaders accepted the overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of the Third Empire by Napoleon III. Nevertheless, it was in that period that the Church won one of her most precious liberties. In 1850, under the influence of Abbé Dupanloup, who later became Bishop of Orleans, ably assisted by Montalembert and

Comte de Falloux, then minister of education, was voted the law which consecrated the right of Catholics to organize their own schools and colleges without any state interference, and which gave the bishops and clergy a large amount of coöperation and even of control in the management of State schools of every grade. However, great as were the benefits that the Church of France could expect to reap from this reform in her religious work, that law did not satisfy some of the most prominent Catholic leaders such as Bishop Pie of Poitiers, and Louis Veuillot, the editor of *L'Univers*; it aroused bitter controversies among the Catholic forces which were split in two camps: Liberals and Ultramontanes. This division has not been healed to this day.

From the Catholic viewpoint, the reign of Napoelon III (1852-1870) was dominated by the problem of the pope's Temporal Power. The sympathy which the emperor's regime of law and order had aroused in Catholic circles did not survive their discovery of his weakness, not to say of his duplicity, in his policy regarding the Italian revolution. In spite of their inner quarrels, French Catholics were unanimous in wishing to see the pope retain his independence, which they had been taught to regard as indissolubly linked with the retention of the temporal power. Bishop Dupanloup, Montalembert, and other liberals, did not yield an inch to Bishop Pie in the ardor with which they championed the cause of papal independence. Unfortunately their divisions were to reappear during the Vatican Council over the opportuneness of the definition of the doctrine of papal infallability. While the lower clergy enthusiastically followed the campaign of Louis Veuillot for the definition, many French bishops joined with Bishop Dupanloup in his endeavor to prevent it. Only the Franco-Prussian war with its sequel of humiliation and suffering restored that unity for a time. Unfortunately, the excesses of the Commune of 1871, which was marked on the one hand by the massacre of hostages, among them Archbishop Darboy of Paris and several prominent priests, religious and Catholic laymen, and on the other by its merciless repression by the government of Adolphe Thiers, came to deepen the gap between the Church and the masses. The minds of the French clergy and Catholic laity were aroused to the fear of social revolution; and in the minds of the masses grew up the distrust of an institution which they had once more found allied with those whom they regarded as their oppressors.

To that immediate cause may be traced the tragic misunderstanding between the French clergy and an increasing section of the French people under the Third Republic to which Abbé Brugerette devotes his second volume. While the peasantry seemed to respond more than ever to the beneficent action of religious education which was given even in the public schools, the clergy felt more and more the alienation of the city workers. In spite of the efforts of social-minded leaders like Comte Albert de Mun,

of which more will be said below, the workers suspected on the part of the Church a lack of sympathy toward their aspirations. Moreover, from the proclamation of the Republic in 1870 till the Great War, many of the successive governments appeared to look upon the liberty of the Church as a dangerous check to the sovereignty of the state. That conflict did not exist in France alone. Practically all modern states had become more or less secularized and regarded the liberties which were condemned in the *Syllabus* of 1864 as the symbols of their emancipation from ecclesiastical authority, while the exponents of the philosophy in which they found their inspiration denounced all religion as superstition, and assigned to democracy as its supreme task the destruction of Catholicism. All the vexatious measures which were taken against the Church in France in that period of about thirty years: expulsion of congregations, complete secularization of public schools, abolition of the military exemption for the clergy, laws restrictive of the freedom of association for religious works, had their source in that anti-Clerical philosophy and were to culminate in 1905 in the abolition of the Concordat and in the separation of Church and State. In spite of the resistance of the clergy and of militant Catholics, the movement went on, now slowly, now rapidly, but always steadily, in the midst of the apparent indifference of an electorate which returned the same leaders to power.

This apparent indifference of the French electorate has been a matter of surprise to many foreign observers and has led them to conclude that faith is not deep-rooted in the French soul, and that the French clergy had failed in their mission. Here is a case to remember that in history and in sociology one must beware of hasty generalizations and inductions. "Is a nation Catholic?" and, "Is Catholicism strong in a nation?"—are not identical questions. If to be called Catholic, a nation had to be unanimous in the profession and practice of the faith, France is not and probably never was a Catholic nation; and since the Revolution, she was not even predominantly Catholic. And yet if the electoral returns in a period in which the religious issue were forced upon the attention of the voters can be taken as an index of their attitude toward religion, we may invoke the authority of an independent statesman, to prove that France is not irreligious. In a recent book[3] André Tardieu claims that no election since the foundation of the Third Republic, and therefore since the initiation of the anti-Clerical policy, has given France a real representation in her Parliament. A more or less unscrupulous political machine has invariably defeated the majority of voters by securing the return to Parliament of a majority of representatives who had received less votes than the ensemble of defeated candidates:

[3] *La Révolution à refaire.* I. *Le Souverain captif* (Paris, 1936).

Date of Elections	*Voters represented in the Chamber*	*Voters not represented*
1876	4,458,584	5,422,283
1877	5,058,106	5,048,551
1881	4,567,052	5,600,000
1885	4,042,964	6,000,000
1889	4,526,086	5,800,000
1893	4,513,511	5,930,000
1898	4,906,000	5,633,000
1902	5,159,000	5,818,000
1906	5,209,606	6,383,852
1910	5,061,271	6,598,288
1914	4,810,693	6,336,786
1919-1924 (Elections made under a different method of voting)		
1928	4,830,000	6,000,565
1932	5,245,000	6,315,000

We do not offer this as the only explanation of the successive defeats, during thirty years and more, of what might be termed the Catholic party in France; we realize too keenly how the secularization of the state and particularly of public education is bound to bear its fruits; we only contend that other factors than the electoral indifference regarding the anti-Catholic legislation from which the Church of France has suffered must be taken into account when a judgment is passed upon the vitality of French Catholicism and upon the character of the French clergy. We have in mind the number of vocations to the priesthood [4] and to religious Orders of every kind, the high proportion (75% in 1915) of French missionaries in the Field Afar, the development of Catholic schools of secondary and higher education, the spread of the Catholic press and literature, the variety of organizations for education, charity, social work, etc., and, last but not least, the maintaining, nay the bettering, of Catholic positions in spite of overwhelming difficulties and terrible assaults.

We can give only a bare sketch of that activity, touching only on the most salient points and the revealing signs of the zeal of the French clergy during that period of crisis. The members of the National Assembly elected in 1871 were most favorably disposed towards the Church. They

[4] The curve of priestly vocations from 1815 to 1900 is revealed by the following statistics of priestly ordinations in the Diocese of Clermont, which now counts 471.000 souls:

14	priests	were	ordained	in	1815
11	"	"	"	"	1830
10	"	"	"	"	1847
18	"	"	"	"	1857
29	"	"	"	"	1860
31	"	"	"	"	1879
40	"	"	"	"	1883
38	"	"	"	"	1888
13	"	"	"	"	1900

ameliorated the financial status of the clergy and they crowned the work of Bishop Dupanloup by the recognition of the Church's right to open Catholic universities. However, they were confronted by two difficult problems: the restoration of the monarchy and the Roman Question.

We need not dwell on the first problem except to remark that those who, like Abbé Brugerette, tax the French clergy with an undue attachment to the monarchy, forget that the National Assembly had an enormous majority of members favorable to that cause. It failed, not because it was unpopular, but because of the rivalry between Legitimists and Orleanists. The Roman Question had more importance in view of the subsequent development of French policy. Pius IX had shut himself in the Vatican, calling himself a prisoner, and was urging all Catholic nations to come and help him recover his independence. To that appeal of the Holy Father the French Catholics gave a hearty response, and only the menace of another war with Germany which, at that time, gave her support and protection to the new Kingdom of Italy, stopped the French government from attempting to rescue the Sovereign Pontiff. However, for many years the Roman Question and the loud protests of French Catholics against the Italian spoliation affected the country's internal and external policy. To the Roman Question may be traced the conclusion of the Triple Alliance with its potential danger for France as well as Italy's hostility to France until 1903, when Minister Delcassé achieved the reconciliation of the two nations. But in turn it was that very reconciliation which led to the rupture of the Concordat, following the Vatican's protest against the visit of the French President to the King of Italy in Rome in 1905. Perhaps the worst effect of the Roman Question was to supply the anti-Clerical party in France with a terribly effective argument in their electoral campaigns, since they could with an air of truth charge the Clericals, *i. e.*, the Catholics, with favoring a policy that might lead to war. For many Frenchmen the dread of war far exceeded the fear of the consequences of the anti-Clerical laws, which were not always immediately visible, while the memory of the "année terrible" was still most vivid in their minds. We feel that Abbé Brugerette, who is rather keen in denouncing the mistakes of the Catholic party in France, has not given sufficient attention to this factor in the development of the anti-Clerical policy of the Third Republic.

The advent of Pope Leo XIII almost coincided with the beginning of this anti-Clerical policy, and to understand the reaction of a notable part of the French clergy to the Sovereign Pontiff's policy of reconciliation with the French Republic, one should bear in mind that the anti-Clerical program had been laid most carefully. It is from Abbé Brugerette himself that we quote that declaration of Gambetta, the first great leader of the anti-Clerical party: "The aim, that is, the crushing of the Church, will be attained by dividing questions, by proceeding with caution, reconnoitering

the obstacles and conducting our attack in a rational and scientific way"; and that of Paul Bert who thus expounded the program laid down by Gambetta:

> 1. Break religious Congregations, that variegated army that have no country, or whose country is the last of the Seven Hills; 2. Secularize education in every grade, taking it from the hands of the clergy and making it a State function, for only free citizens can impart a truly French education; 3. Bring the Church back to the common law in every way, but particularly by reminding her that religious vocations should be decided only after her subjects have satisfied their obligation of military service.

Many similar texts could be quoted from our author, all evidencing the deliberate character of the war, for it was a real war, waged upon the Church and upon religion by the leaders of the successive radical governments of France under the Third Republic: those of Jules Ferry, of Waldeck-Rousseau, of Emile Combes, to mention only the most typical ones. Many politicians even in high places may not have shared that open hostility to the Church; many churchmen or Catholic leaders in politics and in the press may have been imprudent in their opposition and may have precipitated the realization of that program, but it is naïve, to say the least, to imagine that an attitude of conciliation could have altered a program which had been conceived and was carried out with such deliberation. Even in the days when Pope Leo's policy of conciliation seemed to meet a responsive chord in the hearts of some republican leaders, these leaders had to make profession of allegiance to the "intangible laws" of secularization. This fact must be borne in mind to pass an equitable judgment upon the intransigent members of the clergy, regular as well as secular, who urged a policy of resistance at every stage of the realization of that program, from the secularization of public schools in 1886, to the suppression of most Congregations in 1901, and to the Law of Separation in 1905.

If the partisans of a monarchical restoration were able to use as an effective argument of their campaign the identification of the republican government in France with irreligion, it must be confessed that the Republican leaders had been the first to proclaim openly that identity. No historian investigating the real causes of the tragic conflict which has too long divided France in two hostile parts should overlook or minimize this fact. Other facts like the attitude of a certain portion of the Catholic press during the Dreyfus case (1894-1899), to which Abbé Brugerette attaches so great importance,[5] are, it seems to us, mere incidents which

[5] In a recent article, well documented and objective, of the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* (Toulouse, October-December, 1936, 149-170, 197-216), Professor Capéran gives an illuminating analysis of the evolution of the

may have been utilized to their ends by radical politicians, but cannot be called real causes of the lamentable conflict between the French State and the Church of France at the end of the nineteenth century. The source of the conflict lies deeper than that; it is to be found, as we have said above, in the opposition between two conceptions of life and of society. It is not fair, or just, to lay the whole blame on the victims of religious persecution for the fate which they have suffered.

The preceding remarks will perhaps help to explain the failure of the policy of conciliation towards the French Republic which Pope Leo XIII initiated about 1890. It has been called the *Ralliement* policy, though this expression was never used by the Sovereign Pontiff. The elections of 1885 and 1889 had apparently sealed the fate of the restoration of the French monarchy, which the National Assembly, elected in 1871, had been unable to accomplish. Now well assured of the security of the regime, some of the Republican leaders felt that an effort should be made to win to the Republic the unanimous allegiance of French citizens. Pope Leo, on his side, dreamt that, if he could bring the French clergy and leading Catholics to renounce their hope of a monarchical restoration and freely acknowledge the Republican regime, the way would be open to secure the measure of peace and the revision of anti-Clerical laws which would permit the Church to carry on her mission. In the early part of 1890 he tried to win to his views one of the most eminent Catholic leaders, Emile Keller. The latter replied that he did not feel that the French Catholics were ready for such a step. "So long", he wrote to Cardinal Rampolla, February 19, 1890, "as the Republic remains bent on identifying its existence with a war

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Affaire Dreyfus from a mere agitation to obtain the revision of an erroneous judgment by a military court into an antimilitaristic, antinationalistic and anti-Clerical campaign. In the early stages, the leaders of the agitation were drawn from Catholic as well as from non-Catholic ranks and met the practically unanimous opposition of the press and of the politicians of all parties. Only when the movement degenerated into a fight against the army and against the Church did the Catholic papers as *La Croix* take side with anything like violence. As evidence of the reserve and moderation observed by the clergy we may give two statements made in *Le Figaro* by two leaders of the revisionist campaign. Abbé Pichot wrote, December 12, 1898: "In general the clergy, and especially the parish clergy, have done nothing against light and justice. Had they not been induced into error, they would not have hesitated to proclaim the innocence of Dreyfus." And Cornély could write on March 19, 1899: "I have admired in our secular clergy that prudence, that concern for peace, that horror of fiery declamations, in one word that meekness, which is in keeping with their mission of mercy and forgiveness", adding these words of a high French official, M. Dumay: "Neither hate nor lies have crossed the threshold of the churches, not an imprudent word has been uttered in the last fifteen months by the clergy of France".

against God and against the Church, it will inspire in the majority of Christians an invincible repulsion." The pope turned then to Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, who had attained national prestige by his crusade against slavery, and who shared the views of the Holy Father. The Cardinal would have preferred the pope to make a solemn declaration of what he conceived to be the duty of French Catholics, but he was given the difficult task of breaking the way. He complied with the Holy Father's wish, and, on December 12, 1890, in a reception to the officers of the French fleet, he ordered the *Marseillaise* to be played, and he pronounced the famous "Toast of Algiers", in which he stated that "the time had come for French Catholics to accept without reticence the actual form of government." Such was his conviction and his teaching; he wished that attitude to be adopted by the whole clergy, and in expressing that wish "he was certain that no authorized voice would disapprove him."

However, Rome waited more than a year to give an explicit approval of the archbishop's declaration. Meanwhile Catholic opinion was taken by surprise; only a few members of the hierarchy signified their approval and only two openly; most bishops remained silent, and some uttered vehement protests. Hence the ground was far from being prepared for the *Lettre aux Français*, which was issued by Leo XIII, February 12, 1892, urging the great duty of respect and submission to established governments for the sake of social welfare. Only by dropping their opposition to the Republican regime as such, could the French Catholics hope to work effectively for the amelioration of laws which were so detrimental to the highest interests of religion. It must be confessed that if those directions were accepted with the deference due to the authority of the pope, neither their opportunity nor their binding power were unanimously recognized. Abbé Brugerette goes so far as to say that the immense majority of the French clergy remained attached to the monarchy. This appears to be an extreme view. Though I can report personally only about a limited area of ecclesiastical France, my recollection is that the vehement *réfractaires* were as few as the enthusiastic followers. The great majority bowed before the Roman decision, and, as time went on, the *Ralliement* gained strength among the clergy until the pontificate of Pius X. Nevertheless there were misgivings which gave rise to rather bitter controversies. Perhaps the most significant evidence of the split which was caused in the ranks of the clergy was the secession from *L'Univers*, which like *La Croix*, had frankly accepted the pontifical directions, of a part of the staff of editors of that paper. They started a paper of their own, *La Vérité Française*, which conducted a vigorous opposition to the *Ralliement* policy.

The actual results of the elections of 1893 and 1898 seemed to countenance the misgivings of the opposition. Far from improving their position in the Chamber, the Catholics saw their number fall from 210 to less than 100 in 1893, and of those only 35 were *Ralliés*.

As to the wisdom and the effects of the pontifical directions the controversy has not been settled. Its upholders like Abbé Brugerette blame its failure on the lack of response on the part of French Catholics, while its opponents make it responsible for the breaking of the Catholic forces, which, had they been left to themselves, might have won. Perhaps the main cause of that failure is to be found in the deep-rooted opposition of the French people to Church intervention in politics. Even before the "Toast of Algiers", M. Keller had expressed his fears to Cardinal Lavigerie: "I am afraid his (the Holy Father's) intervention would not have the result you seem to expect . . . it would rouse violent objections even among the faithful. For, one must never forget that in France the clergy's intervention in politics is not accepted." Some have gone further and claimed that Leo XIII allowed himself to play into the hands of the radical party. Abbé Brugerette himself quotes the following statement attributed to M. Constans, Minister of the Interior in 1890, by a member of his cabinet, M. Flourens, Foreign Minister:

> Up to this time, the clergy has been the center around which the parties which are hostile to the Republic have grouped themselves, and which has held them together in spite of their inner quarrels. We are convinced that if the clergy went to work, they could be bound together in such a way that they would cause us anxiety. Now we want the clergy, which has been the instrument of their union, to become the instrument of their division. . . . The Pope will order Catholics to accept the Republic. Among Royalists and Bonapartists some will obey, some will not. Hence they will be divided. Those who will disobey the Church will lose their prestige with the rural voters. Those who will obey will be ostracized by their former friends who will call them renegades, and from the Republicans they will not get more respect. They will have no credit in the country and no authority in the Chamber. . . . They will not count. They will be as dust which cannot stick anywhere.

We do not vouch for the authenticity of that truly machiavellian plan. But does it not remind the reader of Hitler's insistence on the suppression of the German Catholic Centrum as a condition of the conclusion of the Concordat between the Nazis and the Holy See?

The failure of the *Ralliement* was even more manifest in the elections of 1898 in which the Catholic party was defeated by the alliance arranged for the first time between the Radical and the Socialist parties. Then began under the governments of Waldeck-Rousseau (1899-1902) and of Emile Combes (1902-1905) a formidable anti-Clerical movement which was to lead to the laws against religious Congregations (1901), the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Holy See (1904), the abrogation of the Concordat and the Law of Separation between Church and State (1905). We need not attempt here even a brief sketch of this crisis which the reader will find accurately and dispassionately described in Georges Goyau's article,

"France", in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. It is enough for our purpose to pay homage to the courage with which the French clergy met the persecution which they had been called upon to endure and the perseverance with which they carried on their mission under most adverse circumstances. After the secularization of public schools in 1886 they had gone to work and provided for the Catholic education of French children by intensifying the teaching of catechism and opening private schools, which in 1900 had attained the number of 17,368 with 1,377,578 pupils, while the Catholic schools of secondary education numbered 581 with 92,084 students against 540 schools with 96,503 students under state or lay control. After the law of 1901 had dissolved most of the religious congregations engaged in education and prohibited religious from teaching in the schools, they put all their energies into saving those schools. With the coöperation of religious who consented to put off their religious garb and to forego the blessings of community life, they succeeded in saving a large number of them, so that recent statistics given by Abbé Brugerette reveal a total of 11,655 Catholic schools with 824,595 pupils in the grammar grades, while the Catholic secondary schools are once more counting more students than the state schools. As regards the Law of Separation, Pope Pius X, rather than yield on a question of principle, ordered the French clergy to refuse to acknowledge that law, even at the cost of losing most of the possessions of the Church. The Holy Father was obeyed with practical unanimity. This example of faith and loyalty from men who found themselves over night reduced to absolute poverty, together with the attitude of the French clergy during the war, may be viewed as one of the great causes of the marked return of sympathy for their priests which has been shown in recent years by the French people. However, there are other causes which deserve a more detailed treatment. We refer to the intellectual prestige attained by the elite of the French clergy as a result of the creation of Catholic Universities (*Instituts*) and to the zeal, we might say the enthusiasm, with which the same clergy has accepted the Catholic program of social reform.

The foundation of the five Catholic Universities of Paris, Lille, Lyons, Toulouse and Angers, which was made possible by the law of 1875, was inspired by the concern for the faith of Catholic students who were exposed to the rationalistic influence of the state universities, by the need of giving adequate training to the priests who were in increasing numbers engaged in secondary education, and also by the desire of equipping scholars to meet the more and more vicious attacks of unbelief against traditional religion. In philosophy the spiritualism of Cousin, Jules Simon and Janet had given way before the Kantism of Renouvier whose doctrine of Personalism was to become the gospel of the leaders of school secularization. Guyau was about to publish his *Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction* (1884), soon to be followed by his *Irréligion de l'avenir* (1886).

Taine and Ribot had imported into France the English association theory which offered to the modern mind a psychology without a soul. Berthelot's genial discoveries in organic chemistry seemed to have given the death blow to the vitalistic interpretation of biological phenomena. But perhaps the greatest menace had arisen in the field of exegesis and Church history from Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (1863), *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme* (1863-1883), and *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel* (1887-1894).

Indeed scholars and apologists had not been wanting in the Church of France in the nineteenth century. Suffice it to recall after the monumental work of Abbé Migne, the publication of an *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise* (29 vol., Paris, 1842-1849) by Abbé Rohrbacher, who had retained from his association with Lamennais at La Chesnaye an instinct for an apologetics based upon the facts of history, the restoration by Père Gratry of the French Oratory with the hope of bringing together a band of scholars in every field who would effect in the nineteenth century a synthesis of all human knowledge comparable with and superior to the scholastic synthesis of the Middle Ages, and the initiation of Renan to Hebrew and biblical studies by Abbé Le Hir of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Nevertheless, the work of Catholics in theology and in history did not equal in brilliancy the apologetical Conferences of Notre Dame de Paris which had been inaugurated by Lacordaire and continued by P. de Ravignan and P. Félix. The last named had devoted twenty years to the subject of Progress through Christianity, aiming at showing that, far from being antagonistic to modern society, Christianity offered it the only way to the realization of its legitimate aspirations. In the press, *L'Univers* of Louis Veuillot had carried on the good fight with his inimitable talent.

Nevertheless, it is true that the opening of the Catholic Universities marked a new era in French Catholic scholarship. Not without opposition and, at times, bitter controversies, not always, unfortunately, without peril to the faith, the same critical methods which had given irreligion its prestige were introduced in the study of Holy Scripture, Church history, theology and philosophy. Abbé Loisy ended in a lamentable revolt against the Church in the modernistic crisis, but his errors must be traced rather to the philosophy which, like Renan, he had imbibed from the Protestant German critics, than to his use of the historical method; some of his pupils may have been led astray by his false philosophy, others were helped to master the technique which they could use with profit for the advancement of biblical studies. Abbé Duchesne, who took the chair of Church history at the Catholic University of Paris, already famous by his doctoral thesis on the *Liber Pontificalis* (1877), began his lectures on Christian Origins, which developed in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, and which found their complement in his *Origines du culte chrétien* (1889), and in his studies on *Les Eglises séparées* (1904). His object was to "ascertain that the

link between the first disciples of Christ and Christianity as it was known and practiced at the time of St. Cyprian and Origen, was straight and unbroken." Meanwhile he founded and edited *Le Bulletin critique* in which he attacked pitilessly the popular traditions which he deemed more or less legendary, and roused bitter opposition when, in his *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (1894-1899), he questioned the Apostolic origin of many episcopal Sees. He was denounced as an iconoclast, had to abandon his chair at the Catholic University, but received an ample compensation in his appointment in 1895 as head of the *Ecole française de Rome* (the French school of archeology in Rome), where he continued his work and trained many generations of French scholars in history. The seed had been planted, and if, as we have said, some of the men who had imbibed the spirit of Loisy and Duchesne went astray like Abbé Turmel, a host of others like Batiffol, Boudinhon, Lebreton, Pourrat, Rivière, Tixeront, Vacandard, de Grandmaison and others learned to unite the best critical and historical methods with the most loyal orthodoxy. Trained under such masters Seminary professors were able to raise the standard of elementary ecclesiastical studies. Some had not had to wait for that initiation. At St. Sulpice, M. Hogan and M. Brugère had left the stamp of their scholarship on their students; MM. Vigouroux and Bacuez produced in 1878-1879 the first edition of an up-to-date *Manuel Biblique*, and in 1897 M. Vigouroux started the publication of a *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, which was the first of a series of Dictionaries: on Theology, edited by Vacant; Liturgy and Archeology, edited by Dom Cabrol; Church History, edited by A. Baudrillart; Canon Law, edited by Villien; Apologetics, edited by A. d'Alès; and in our own days, Asceticism, edited by M. Viller; and Sociology, edited by G. Jacquemet, which were to constitute a unique Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge.

Moreover Reviews were founded: *Revue Biblique* (1892), *Revue du Clergé français* (1895), *Canoniste contemporain* (1895), *Revue d'Histoire et de Litérature religieuse* (1896), *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique de Toulouse* (1900)—to name only the principal ones—which brought to the teacher in his school and to the intellectually-minded parish priest in his rectory the benefit of the researches of specialists and kept them abreast of the new learning. The field of philosophy and apologetics was not neglected. The outstanding names in that field were those of three laymen: Ollé-Laprune who taught in the *Ecole Normale supérieure* and whose *Certitude Morale* paralleled Newman's *Grammar of Assent*; Fonsegrive who edited *La Quinzaine*; Maurice Blondel, whose thesis on *L'Action* opened a new path for philosophical and religious thought; and a priest, member of the Oratory, Fr. Laberthonnière. His articles in *Les Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, and his books on *Le Dogmatisme moral* and on *Réalisme chrétien et Idéalisme grec* brought upon him ecclesiastical censures but

helped to awake the upholders of tradition to the need of taking greater account of modern trends of thought in their defense of religious truth. The ferment of ideas which was to reach its climax in the crisis of Modernism at the dawn of a new century illustrates the difficulty encountered by all reformers who attempt to task of: *vetera novis augere*, but it bore also an eloquent witness to the fecundity of the intellectual revival which was initiated in France under the influence of Catholic universities, and which would bear lasting fruits once the painful task of separating the wheat from the dross had been accomplished.

That intellectual revival was accompanied by a splendid social movement which has been described with generous sympathy by Parker Moon in his book: *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France.*[6] It is not therefore necessary to dwell long on this aspect of French Catholic life in the nineteenth century. Dr. Moon has selected France, "because the Social Catholic program has there been elaborated in great detail and formally incorporated in the platform of a political party, the *Action Libérale Populaire*," and consequently, because "Social Catholicism has played a most interesting rôle in French politics". As early as 1849, Vicomte Armand de Melun, had elaborated a scheme of social legislation which he presented to the *Assemblée législative* of which he was a member. He wished to steer a middle course between socialism and *laissez-faire*. "Society", he said, "should be neither a communistic organization blotting out private property and human personality, nor a 'heartless mechanism' leaving each individual to survive or to perish as he might. But society should be a great protective association, defending the workingman against ignorance, sickness, vice, poverty, excessive labor and unemployment." (p. 46) To this program, which was thwarted by the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III, was opposed the anti-interventionist tendency of Le Play's school of political economy which was equally mistrustful of labor organization. But it was resumed with great vigor and perseverance in the light of the menace of the Commune of 1871, by Comte Albert de Mun who demanded not only labor organization but also labor legislation. The Count advocated the formation of "guilds formed among employers and workingmen of the same profession, held together, first of all, by acceptance of the principle of social justice, which imposes on the former as on the latter reciprocal duties: that is the moral bond; and united by a common possession, by a corporate property arising from the voluntary sacrifices of both classes: that is the material bond."[7] Not content with preaching the gospel of social justice, the noble Christian leader was untiring in advocating social legislation in the Chamber of Deputies of which he was

[6] New York, Macmillan, 1921.

[7] Speech to the tenth general assembly of the Workingmen's Clubs, May 7, 1882.

a member from 1883 to 1891. There he denounced as the fundamental cause of the modern labor problem the false doctrine of the Liberal or individualistic economists, expressed his belief that the legal recognition of trade unions might in some measure relieve the existing situation, and urged the Chamber to encourage unions which would bring employers and workingmen together in a common organization, consumers' cooperative societies, accident insurances, regulation of labor, industrial arbitration, in one word practically every point of the program of social reform which has come to be the charter of modern social Catholicism. He found the best practical exemplification of his theory in the actual organization of industry on a Christian basis in the Harmel Cotton Mills, which had been founded in 1840 and organized as a Christian guild by Léon Harmel. These efforts, which followed upon the line of action traced by Bishop von Ketteler and had their counterpart in Cardinal Manning's social action and in the agitation led in Switzerland by Cardinal Mermillod, may be said to have paved the way for the publication of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. A comparative table given by Parker Moon, between the reforms proposed by Leo XIII, the proposals made by Albert de Mun, and the French social laws enacted from 1884 to 1904, reveals a striking resemblance and the far-reaching influence of the great French social leader. The clergy was not remiss in accepting the social directions of Leo XIII. The motto "go to the people", which has been reëchoed in Pius XI's latest encyclical, was enthusiastically adopted at least by the younger clergy. Seminarians were among the first to respond to the call of "Christian Democracy", and read avidly Yves Le Querdec's *Letters of a Country Vicar*, which gave a concrete exemplification of a priestly ministry attempting to carry out the social program of Leo XIII. Since those days the zeal of the *abbés démocrates* may have cooled off, but we have only to think of the growing success of the *Semaines Sociales* where year after year social problems are discussed between moralists, economists, business men and representatives of the "Confédération des Travailléurs Chrétiens", to realize that the seed planted by Frédéric Ozanam, Vicomte de Melun and Albert de Mun has grown into a large tree. Perhaps some will be surprised to hear that the political reaction which swept many of the French Catholics and clergy into the ranks of the "Action Française" in the first years of the century, did not mean a corresponding social reaction. When Albert de Mun started his social crusade, he was firmly attached to the monarchy, but he found among other monarchists many ardent champions of the working classes, and in the pretender himself, Comte de Chambord, a man who conceived the monarchy as the historic protector of the right of labor to organize—a right which had been destroyed by the Revolution. So in the minds of many social-minded French monarchists, the restoration of the monarchy appears as the best means of counteracting the fatal liberalism which was ushered in by the Revolution in its Declaration of the Rights of man.

This sketch would not be complete if no mention was made of the Catholic press which is one of the most effective moulders of public opinion. After the death of Louis Veuillot in 1883, *L'Univers* continued to be edited by his brother Eugène, and later by his nephew François, but the divisions occasioned by the *Ralliement* policy brought about the creation of *La Vérité Française* and a weakening of the once famous Catholic paper. Little by little its place was taken by *La Croix*, founded in the early eighties by the Assumptionists, around which grew a number of periodicals all published by "La Bonne Presse." So great was its success, and perhaps so aggressive was its tone that in 1900 the French government suppressed the Congregation in French territory. Fortunately, the whole plant was taken over by the saintly brothers Féron-Vrau and has continued ever since its beneficial activities all over the country. Since then the war has come to undo much of the harm caused by the anti-Clerical policy of the Third Republic; many Congregations have openly reopened their schools and colleges, *La Croix* has returned to its founders, diplomatic relations have been reëstablished between France and the Holy See, the Church of France has recovered her legal status, the social tension that has marked the life of the nation since the advent in June, 1937, of the "Front Populaire" has not so far affected the position of the Church, the battle is still going on between the "Two Cities", but if it were rash to speak of victory and if reverses may still be met at the hands of relentless opponents of the Christian ideal of civilization, the French clergy may feel that its place in modern society was immeasurably better at the end, than it was at the beginning, of the nineteenth century.

JULES A. BAISNÉE.

For those readers of the REVIEW who may desire further reading-references on the subject, the following works are recommended: Baudrillart, Alfred, *Quatre cent ans de Concordat* (Paris, 1905); Baunard, Mgr., *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France* (Paris, 1901), *Histoire du Cardinal Pie* (2 vol., Paris, 1886), *Le Cardinal Lavigerie* (Paris, 1896); Bellamy, J., *La Théologie Catholique au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1904); Bodley, John E. C., *France* (2 vol., London, 1898), *The Church in France* (London, 1906); Debidour, A., *Histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France, 1789-1870* (Paris, 1898), *L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat sous la troisième République, 1870-1889* (2 vol., Paris, 1906-1909); Galton, Arthur, *Church and State in France: 1300-1907* (London, 1907, ch. V-X); Belloc, Hilaire, "The Church and French Democracy," *The Catholic World*, Nov. 1913–March 1914; Hanotaux, Gabriel, *Histoire de la France contemporaine, 1871-1900* (4 vol., Paris, 1903-1908). English Trans. *Contemporary France* (London, 1909); Julien, Mgr., *Le Prêtre* (Paris, 1929); La Gorce, Pierre de, *La Restauration: Louis XVIII* (Paris, 1926), *Histoire de la seconde République* (2 vol., Paris, 1887), *Histoire du second Empire* (7 vol., Paris, 1894-1905); Lagrange, Mgr., *Vie de Mgr. Dupanloup, évêque d'Orléans* (3 vol., Paris, 1883-1884); Lecanuet, R. P.,

Montalembert (3 vol., Paris, 1895-1902), *L'Eglise de France et le Second Empire (1850-1870)*, *L'Eglise de France sous la troisième République.* I. *La fin du pontificat de Pie IX, 1870-1878.* II. *Pontificat de Léon XIII, 1878-1903* (Paris, 1907-1910); McCaffrey, James, *History of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1910, vol. I, ch. I, VIII); Moon, Parker, *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France* (New York, 1921); Mourret, Fernand, *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise* (8 vol., Paris, vol. VIII, 1815-1918); Roussel, Alfred, *Lamennais* (2 vol., Paris, 1893); Souvay, Charles L., "The Church in Contemporary France," in *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe*, Vol. II, *Papers* of the American Catholic Historical Association (New York, 1932, 70-103); Thureau-Dangin, Paul, *Histoire de la monarchie de Julliet* (7 vol., Paris, 1884-1892), *L'Eglise et l'Etat sous la monarchie de Juillet* (Paris, 1879); Taine, H., *Les Origines de la France contemporaine. Le Régime moderne*, Tome II. *L'Eglise* (Paris, 1894); *La Vie Catholique dans la France contemporaine* (Paris, 1918).

BOOK REVIEWS

Seven Books of History Against the Pagans: The Apology of Paulus Orosius. "Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies," No. 26. By IRVING WOODWORTH RAYMOND. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. ix, 436, with index. $4.50.)

Professor Raymond's translation of Orosius is an important addition to the well-known series "Records of Civilization," published by the Columbia University Press. After more than fifteen centuries the full seven books of Orosius's *History Against the Pagans* have for the first time been translated from the Latin. Professor Raymond has put the reading public in his debt by performing this task, for he has made available, in a familiar idiom, a philosophy of history which is now rarely mentioned.

It will be remembered that there was considerable searching of heart and mind in the Mediterranean world after Alaric's capture of Rome in 410. The pagans in the Empire were convinced that the ancient gods of Rome, now neglected because of the onward sweep of Christianity, had left the City to her enemies. Even the thoughts of many nominal Christians tended toward a like view. Paulus Orosius, a young associate of St. Augustine, was requested by the famous Bishop of Hippo to write in refutation of such an opinion, by recounting the story of recorded history, by demonstrating that misfortunes had always been, and by showing that the influence of Christianity had had a mitigating effect upon the consequences of disaster. Imbued as he was with the mental processes of St. Augustine, Orosius succeeded in writing a universal history which adhered closely to the principle of what one might call providential determinism, if this reviewer may be allowed an apparent paradox. While one may disagree widely with certain of Orosius's views concerning what is providential, yet it is refreshing to see the doctrine itself so clearly enunciated in modern English.

The English of the translation is indeed modern and lucid. There are very few instances of a "translation style." The story moves swiftly and smoothly. Professor Raymond has freely rearranged phrases and clauses when to do so contributed to the English style. He has on a few occasions departed from the division points of the chapters in the original when that seemed advantageous. Yet for all this, both the letter and the spirit of Orosius are unmistakably present.

One is tempted in reviewing this book to try to appraise certain of Orosius's methods, such as the forced parallel between the plagues of Egypt and the disasters following ten major persecutions of the Christians (pp. 360 ff.). One is tempted to try to correct certain of Orosius's interpretations, such as his "one-hundred-per-cent" Roman and seemingly

unfair attitude toward Stilicho (pp. 386-387). But of course that is outside the present assignment. Orosius's work stood the test of much criticism, and was highly regarded as sound and authoritative throughout the middle ages. Only certain aspects of Professor Raymond's editing remain to be considered.

A short biographical and critical introduction adds greatly to the value and usefulness of the present volume. In this the editor gives the result of earnest research in trying to determine the birthplace of Orosius (p. 4). He gives a terse and comprehensive summary and critique of Orosius's methodology (pp. 15 ff.). He leads us to believe that Orosius was a pioneer in the "debunking school," in that his author did not glorify everything Roman, but rather recognized that "all peoples are God's children," and tore "aside the veil behind which the patriotic historians concealed the ugly spots that marred the features of the history of their countries . . . to reveal the less pleasing aspects of ancient civilization in their true light" (p. 20).

The copious footnotes are equally valuable. They assist in many matters, such as the identification of Orosius's sources (p. 96); the correction of facts as given by him (pp. 113, 145); frequently painstaking attempts to identify places mentioned in the text (*e. g.*, p. 159); giving the more familiar names of consuls and others prominent in Roman history (*passim*).

One is pleased at the extensive bibliography which is appended, but one wishes that the index had not been confined to names and events only.

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The Dawn of a New Era: 1250-1453. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1936. Pp. xi, 389. $3.75.)

Intended as an introductory volume to the historical series, *The Rise of Modern Europe*, this volume of Professor Cheyney is a proposed survey comparable in scope to his volume in the *American Nation* series. It covers those years which he looks upon at the transition period between medieval and modern Europe. During it the rising importance of towns, the weakening of the authority of the Church, the expansion of trade, the uprisings of the lower classes, the rise of nationalism, were forces which recast the then existing social and economic order and continued to have an important significance well into modern times. Declaring that by the middle of the thirteenth century the real Middle Ages were over, he is of the opinion that a really new era had begun. It did not reach its full stature, however, until the middle of the fifteenth century—he uses the date 1453 as a mere peg—

when new dynasties were building centralized monarchial states, when methods of warfare had changed, when the Church weakened from within and without lost its authority, and when new knowledge revolutionized thought.

Because he considers the increase of wealth as the most fundamental of the changes that marked the passage from medieval to modern times, he investigates the spread of commerce first, since it was the principal cause of the increase of wealth. This leads him on to discuss many aspects of trade, namely its materials, its spread, the Flanders Fleet of Venice, the Hanseatic League, the Steelyard of London, the spread of Maritime and Commercial Law, and to devote one chapter to one result of the increase of wealth—the merchant princes and bankers. The rise of the middle class, the development of representative government, popular insurrections, and the Hundred Years' War precede that part of the book which is least satisfactory to the Catholic historian and history teacher. When Professor Cheyney defines the medieval Church as "a body of men and women set apart by ordination or vows from the rest of the community," one is tempted to decide that he has failed to see the middle ages as they really were. His footnote (p. 174), that although there are other definitions of the Church "more mystical and more modern," but for purposes of historical discussion it is necessary "to have clearly in mind the contemporary conception of the medieval Church as a definite group of persons," will undoubtedly cause dismay to many of Professor Cheyney's Catholic readers. To paraphrase Cardinal Newman's famous statement "To be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant," to be deep in the Middle Ages is to cease to regard the Church as anything but a divine organization preserving civilization as well as faith, handing on to the New Era those things which today alone have any lasting worth.

There are a few slips, as when Benedict XIII is called "Pedro de Lima." Although here and there Professor Cheyney draws upon his *European Background to American History* his present volume has more body to it and may even displace his former publication. In any event, its footnotes and bibliographical data are especially valuable and its final chapter an excellent synthesis of the preceding material. Why the fifty beautiful plates should have been grouped together and inserted without apparent reason among the bibliographical notes is something difficult to understand. There is a table of contents, a brief index and two maps of Europe in 1250 and 1453.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

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L'Esprit Particulariste et La Révolution des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle (1578-1584). By GUY MALENGREAU. (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1936. Pp. 222. 40 francs.)

During feudal times the small principalities destined to become the seventeen provinces of the Spanish Low Countries gradually loosened the bonds which had bound them, some to France, some to the Empire, and became independent states capable of defending their liberty against covetous neighbors. It was only under the Dukes of Burgundy, especially under Philip the Good, when the titles to eleven of them were accumulated in one person, that any effort to unite them was at all successful. The great Emperor Charles V joined the other provinces to these and declared the whole to be an independent and indivisible state. The Grand Council, the Council of State and the Parlement of Malines had been established to centralize the government; but they were not as effective as the States-General in inspiring the provinces with the consciousness of their solidarity as a single united nation. In fact the representatives gathered together in the States-General of 1477 wrung from Charles the Bold the *Grand Privilège* which actually weakened centralized control by restoring local and provincial privileges and exemptions. Anxious to make the provinces self-sufficient, Charles V appointed a governor general and in the frequent meetings of the States-General he used every opportunity to promote political unity and common effort. Nevertheless at the end of his reign, the seventeen provinces remained practically independent of one another and as passionately attached as ever to their own peculiar rights and liberties. Flanders was not interested in the fate of Holland nor was Holland interested in that of Flanders.

Philip II received the seventeen provinces from his father but unfortunately Charles could not endow him with the tact and ability necessary to rule them prudently. Against the contrary advice of the pope, he resolved to crush out all opposition by sheer force of arms. The return of the hated Spanish troops drove the exasperated inhabitants to forget their differences for a brief moment and to unite their strength against the common enemy. This unusual unity, however, was of short duration. Towns and provinces, nobles and leaders soon began again to pursue local and private satisfaction rather than that of the Généralité. Mutual jealousies and suspicions, the excesses of the Calvinists, the erection of the rival unions of Arras and Utrecht, the reconciliation of the Walloon province with Spain, and especially the death of William of Orange, the chief inspiration of the revolt, all these made further united effort impossible. Farnese reconquered the southern provinces, which, as an independent kingdom under the benign rule of Albert and Isabella, enjoyed a brief period of prosperity before passing to the crown of Austria. Holland and Zeeland maintained their

independence, thanks to the circumstance that Philip's attention was drawn to other fields.

The author who has studied the minds of the insurgents as manifested in the most recent scientific researches, arrives at the conclusion that the most important single cause of the failure of the revolution and one which permeated all the others, was the selfish provincialism, *l'esprit de clocher*, which characterized the confederates in their conduct of religious, financial and military affairs.

This traditional spirit indicates that at the end of the sixteenth century there did not exist as yet the national sentiment which was to bind the provinces together in a common political mentality.

In a careful style, Dr. Malengreau has given us an excellent synthesis of the results of his investigation. The bibliography covers eight pages. He is to be commended for contributing further light on a particularly important period of European history.

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Catholicism in England, 1535-1935. By DAVID MATHEW, Litt. D., M. A., F. S. A. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1936. Pp. xii, 304. $3.50.)

In the Foreword to this volume the author states in the first sentence: "This book is intended as a sketch of the contribution of Catholics to English life, a brief impression of the influence of individuals and Catholic groups upon the history of England" (p. vii). Keeping in mind the limitation placed upon the work at the outset by Dr. Mathew, the reader will agree, I believe, that he has accomplished his purpose. Doubtless many will complain that the sketches and brief impressions are entirely too abbreviated to give a balanced picture or anything approaching a satisfactory understanding of the episodes and persons described. One must know a considerable amount of English history to appreciate the book, and it is just there that the reviewer believes Dr. Mathew missed a worthwhile chance, namely to write such a book as he has done but along fuller lines which would serve the popular reader of Catholic history in securing a knowledge of the Catholic tradition running through Britain's modern development.

Roughly the material covers in rapidly succeeding chapters the story of the Catholics in England from Henry VIII's break with Rome in the legislation of 1534 to the death of Cardinal Bourne and the consecration of the abbey church at Downside in 1935. That Dr. Mathew knows English history and the share of the Catholics therein cannot seriously be called in question. Moreover, his many piquant quotations from and cita-

tions to the leading source materials for English Catholic history show whence his knowledge has come. Dr. Mathew has drawn some extremely deft characterizations of men, and he includes a number of penetrating analyses of situations. His description of the bishops of Henry VIII's reign and the majority's acquiescence in that king's repudiation of Rome is especially good. He speaks of them as, "Serenely conscious of their prudence, they had something of the discretion of the *fonctionnaire*, valuing the conduct of affairs and aware of the King's variable moods. . . . It was manifest folly to provoke the opposition unnecessarily. . . . The prelates were overawed by the sovereign power and by that majesty of the King who had raised and made them" (p. 6). The style of the narrative is good and at times the author strikes off a fine metaphor as when he speaks of Bishop Milner's opposition to the Gallican clergy and Cisalpine party amongst the English Catholics and his efforts to root out these influences: "Milner was always ready to bind up his sheaves and he had a sure instinct for the cockle" (p. 170). Again when he treats of Gladstone's reaction to the Vatican Council it is in these words: "Mr. Gladstone with unction and a heavy skill manoeuvred for the weather-gauge in the controversy on the decrees of the Vatican Council" (p. 231).

The work has three appendices, one on "The English Dominicans" by the author's brother, Gervase Mathew, O. P.; another on "The English Benedictines" by Adrian Morey, O. S. B.; and a third on "the Religious Orders of Women," by M. Mary Paul, C. H. C. J. There is included a brief bibliographical note with critical comments on some of the leading original source materials for Catholic history, and a slight index. One wonders how in this book which catalogs nearly all the outstanding Catholic names from the sixteenth century to our own day of men who figured prominently in English affairs either political or cultural, that of the learned Monsignor Horace K. Mann, author of the *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, could have been omitted. Finally, is it a manifestation of the English sporting interest of which we have heard, that prompts the mention that the second decade of the twentieth century witnessed the Catholic schools of England producing "football teams (with) often a first-class reputation" (p. 245), and the added item that, "some good boxers, too, came out of the Catholic schools and parishes"? (p. 246).

JOHN TRACY ELLIS.

The Catholic University of America.

The Odyssey of St. Francis Xavier. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1936. Pp. viii, 364. $2.50.)

Theodore Maynard's competence as an author has already been attested by his writings in several departments of literature. It was inevitable, perhaps, that some of the technique peculiar to these departments would creep into the present work; and it is not surprising, then, to find in it much of the poet, for example, and still more of the essayist. However, these various elements are blended so adroitly and manipulated so deftly, that they contribute materially to the making of a book which many will regard as the best of the popular accounts of the Saint.

Doctor Maynard has given us a book in which he exhibits his fine craftsmanship at its best. We encounter many beautiful descriptions, much restrained humor, an occasional paradox, a critical and eminently sane treatment of miracles, and a fine psychology in appraising character and motives. These qualities *inter alia* not only serve to adorn the narrative and to sustain interest, but, in particular, they provide a fitting background against which the portrait of the Saint is clearly delineated. This portrait derives authenticity from the fact that it is based in great measure on an abundant and intelligent use of the letters.

The value of the work is increased by a full and convenient map, an exhaustive bibliography, and a compelte index. Many will consider the following passage (p. 56) gratuitous and misleading: "This should be added: that all his life he had no other fear except the fear of being afraid. He therefore defied his own natural revulsion, the fraility of his own delicate nature. It was this fear that was the secret of the astounding courage he was so often called upon to display in the Orient." I have noted only one misprint: on page 320, 'letter' should read 'letters.' However, such criticisms do not detract materially from the genuine worth of the book, which is a welcome addition to the constantly growing bibliography on the Saint.

BROTHER GILES.

The Catholic University of America.

Schools of Kildare and Leighlin: A. D. 1775-1835. By REV. MARTIN BRENAN, M. A., Bd., Ph. D., Professor of Education, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1935. Pp. xx, 616. 10s.)

To students and readers of the history of the Penal and post-Penal Days in Ireland a very pertinent question, one to which no satisfactory answer seemed forthcoming, inevitably presented itself: By what means were the Irish people enabled during those days to preserve their Faith, despite the cumulative and persistent efforts of the overwhelming forces bent on its destruction? This book makes it clear that the great bulwark

of the Faith in those days was efficient cathechetical instruction. The record of Ireland's desperate struggle for Catholicism is a commonplace of history. Certain aspects of that struggle already fairly well known receive from Dr. Brenan's researches new confirmation, while some less known phases of it are for the first time brought into view. The author's way of writing history is to give all the details as seen through his authorities' spectacles; hence the text is frequently interrupted by a multitude of citations from original official reports. It is once more made clear that Irish writers have been guilty of no intemperate exaggeration, but have kept to sober statement of fact in declaring that in no other land or period has the work of popular education had to face and overcome such formidable difficulties and obstacles: legal proscription, governmental opposition, teachers underpaid and indigent, schoolhouses that were generally shelterless hovels without furniture or equipment. Yet all difficulties were overcome, for there were always present the two essentials of success: teachers competent and zealous, pupils industrious and eager to learn. The success achieved by the Hedge Schools proved very heartening to the Irish priests and people, very disconcerting to the persecutors and proselytizers.

In 1824 a Royal Commission was established to inquire into and present reports on the state of education in Ireland. In all nine official reports were published. The second, known as the *Blue Book Summary*, dated Dublin 16th of September 1826, was compiled from the files of the actual Parochial Returns sent in to the Commissioners from every parish in Ireland. An official questionnaire consisting of 15 queries demanding, "very minute and detailed particulars of every school conducted in the parish according to the information of the Parish Priest, Established Church, and Dissenting Ministers. These were to be duly filled out and verified on oath." These original Returns are nearly all lost. However, thanks to the sagacity and vigilance of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1812-34), the famous "J. K. L.," we have duplicates of practically all the Returns for the parishes of these united dioceses. These Duplicate Returns preserved in the Diocesan Archives are the basis of the present work. The full text of these Returns supplemented from the Second Report, rearranged in sequence, but still in their original forms, is given in the Appendix, which constitutes (quantatively) the greater part of the book (pp. 170-612). The first part, after a Foreword by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and an Introduction by the Professor of Education, University College, Dublin, Rev. T. Corcoran, S. J. (IX-XIX), is occupied by a formal historical disquisition (pp. 1-167) which amounts to an analytical appraisal of, or general commentary on, the material found in the file of Returns.

A brief summary of the topics treated in Dr. Brenan's work will show the historical value of this book.

The introductory chapter tells how the Parochial School Returns came to be compiled. The government grants voted for the promotion of popular education in Ireland were committed to the exclusive control of the various proselytizing agencies masquerading as "Educational Societies." The Irish bishops, however, entertaining some faint hopes that an impartial parliamentary body might be disposed to correct some of the educational abuses and redress the grievances weighing upon Catholics, petitioned Parliament accordingly. But by political intrigue, it was the Crown, not Parliament, that took up the matter, and the appointment of a Royal, instead of a Parliamentary Commission, blighted the bishops' hopes. The Royal Commission, appointed in June 1824, sat till July 1827, busied itself chiefly in discovering how the state-aided Protestant institutions were functioning, and how they could be made more efficient. Report II of the commission is an Abstract based on the School Returns of the nation (Ch. I). The pioneer promoters and organizers of Catholic Schools and Education in the united Dioceses of Kildrae and Leighlin were the great bishops, Dr. Keefe (1752-1787), founder of Carlow College, the first Catholic Seminary established in Ireland in post-Reformation days, Dr. Delaney (1788-1814), founder of the Teaching Orders of the Brigidine Sisters and of the Patrician Brothers, and Dr. Doyle (1819-1834), whose activities were mainly literary, controversial, and more national in scope. By 1834 Schools of Christian Doctrine, or systematic Catechetical Sunday Schools, taught by trained teachers, members of the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine, were fully organized and in perfect working order everywhere throughout the diocese. A detailed account is given of Confraternity history and action, of the character of these Sunday Schools, their teaching methods and work accomplished. The results in the face of apparently insuperable difficulties were astonishingly successful (Chaps. II-III). The information given here is a fuller and revised republication of a briefer work by Dr. Brenan, *The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Ireland A. D. 1775-1835*, published by Browne and Nolan, Ltd., in Dublin, 1934. Next are discussed the Catholic Day Schools, officially called Catholic Pay Schools, because the teachers got their meager support from the pittance paid by the poor parents too proud to countenance even a semblance of accepting charity, but usually called Hedge Schools, from their predecessors and prototypes, the actual Hedge Schools of Penal Days. The topics here treated make melancholy but instructive reading (Ch. IV). The scholastic status and moral character of these illegal schools, and of their penurious teachers, as well as the educational policy of the Irish Catholic clergy and hierarchy were of course maliciously assailed and calumniated by their "Ascendancy" enemies; hence it became necessary to refute the unfounded allegations made against them. This is done by the copious and authoritative evidence brought forth in ample vindication of the moral character of the teachers, as well as of their pro-

fessional qualifications (Chs. V-VII). A comprehensive history of the proselytizing societies, and of their policy, aims, and modus operandi, fills a lengthy chapter (Ch. VIII, pp. 108-152). Dr. Brenan brings to a conclusion his historical sketch of an intensely interesting phase of Ireland's recent past, at a critical juncture when she was laboriously emerging from darkness to light, with a brief chapter (pp. 153-166) on "The Spiritual Leaders of the Campaign for Catholic Education," not exactly biographical in content, but rather presenting a general review of the efforts of the priests and bishops of Kildare and Leighlin to secure educational rights for their people and for the Catholic people of Ireland.

This diocese is typically Irish as to physical features, population, resources, etc.; agricultural and rural, it contains no cities, but there are many good-sized towns. On these considerations alone, Dr. Brenan's conjecture may be accepted that, if similar records had been kept in other dioceses, they would have had a similar story to tell. His book, therefore, gives the history of Catholic Education in Ireland during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

It is interesting to note that we find Catholic Action in full vigor in Ireland, exactly as defined by Pope Pius XI, in the exact lines, and with the exact conditions and purposes as set forth by the pope, authorized lay co-operation in the work of the ministry, more than a century before that great pontiff promulgated his program of Catholic Action. The 8,000 hedge schools teachers of Ireland in conjunction with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, of which most of them were members, engaged in Catholic Action in its noblest, most necessary, and most practical form, the work of Catechetical Instruction organized on a diocesan basis and plan. Most of the teachers in the Day or Hedge Schools were also teachers of the Sunday Schools, thereby winning for themselves the distinction and honor of being denounced by the proselytizing and ascendency faction in the official Reports as "Coadjutors" of the Catholic Clergy, and of having their teaching therefore characterized as "very bad," not to say "immoral." Neither is it by mere coincidence, or fortuitous anticipation, that the two Confraternities established in every parish of Kildare and Leighlin by Bishops Keeffe, Delaney, and Doyle, are precisely the ones which are prescribed under strict obligation by the new Code of Canon Law to be instituted in every parish, viz., the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. Rather is it a striking testimony to the apostolic zeal, organizing genius, and administrative ability of these great and illustrious prelates.

The Schools of Kildare and Leighlin is an agreeable, instructive, and inspiring volume.

JAMES VEALE.

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Leo XIII and our Times:—Might of the Church—Power in the World. By RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER. Translated by CONRAD M. R. BONACINA. (London: Longmans. 1937. Pp. 202.)

This book was also published in England under the title *The Power and Secret of the Papacy,* which title confuses the present work with another by the same author entitled, *Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten—Might and Secret Power of the Jesuits.*

This volume contains six chapters or sections (Abschnitt.), twelve lithographic plates, and a bibliography. The titles of the chapters are all in Latin, and indicate, therefore, familiarity with the sources. The lack of references in this work is conspicuous, since not a single authority is cited in footnotes. This failure to furnish references is to be regretted, because such procedure would have been convenient to the reader and would have given additional weight to the statements in the book. A Preface or Foreword is also missing, and this would have helped in understanding the writer's purpose. The plates are well done, and the bibliography is rather extensive. However, the contents challenge attention by every earnst student, and the author manifests a sympathetic understanding of Catholic, as well as secular, history.

The erudition of René Fülöp-Miller has been recognized by Protestant and Catholic critics alike through the publication of his previous work on the Jesuits.

In the original, entitled *Leo XIII und unsere Zeit: Macht der Kirche-Gewalten der Welt* (Zürich: Rascher, 1935, pp. 215), the author in a scholarly fashion delineates the complex factors and forces operative in the national, social, and political life of our times in relation to the spiritual currents and influences emanating from the Catholic Church. The fountainhead of these spiritual influences is the papacy, and Leo XIII is regarded as the first modern pontiff, whose ideas and practical lines of action have given direction to the entire development of Vatican policies. Hence the cultural history embodied in this volume furnishes the key to the Catholic position with reference to all of the important questions of the present day.

The contents in brief are as follows: Chapter one, entitled, *Anathema sit,* indicates the authority with which the Catholic Church through her sovereign pontiffs has spoken throughout the ages to secular princes as well as to the people, and has emphasized sound doctrine as well as spiritual values; chapter two, *Habemus Papam,* the words spoken by the Cardinal-deacon after the election of Pope Leo XIII, from St. Peter's in 1878, are used to introduce the Holy Father, explain his qualifications and character, and to contrast him with his predecessors; chapter three, *Summa Theologica,* indicates the instrument chosen by Leo XIII to reconcile

dogma with the modern rationalistic movements and to bridge the chasm between the Church and modern civilization; chapter four, *Sapientiae Christianae,* the encyclical of Leo XIII to the French Republic, is taken as a sample of the papal policy in relation to the "Kulturkampf" in particular, and to the modern nationalistic movements in general, through which the prestige of the Holy See has been greatly enhanced; chapter five, *Rerum Novarum,* the encyclical issued by Leo XIII in 1891, through which the aged pontiff sought to solve the social problems of the time on the basis of Thomistic principles; chapter six, *Quodragesimo Anno,* the encyclical issued by Pius XI on the fortieth anniversary of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum,* in which the social principles of Leo XIII and of St. Thomas are recapitulated in answer to the Socialism of the present day.

The translation into English by Conrad M. R. Bonacina, as embodied in the American edition above cited, is very well done.

C. W. HEPNER.

Tokyo, Japan.

The New Germany. National Socialist Government in Theory and Practice. By FRITZ ERMARTH. (Washington, D. C.: Digest Press. 1936. Pp. 203.)

Under The Swastika. By JOHN B. HOLT. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1936. Pp. 254.)

Hitler's First Foes. A Study in Religion and Politics. By JOHN BROWN MASON. (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company. 1936. Pp. 118.)

The historian does not recognize isolated events but rests not until he sees historical happenings fitted into a larger context from which they receive their real meaning. This also is his attitude with regard to the nationalsocialistic movement in Germany which brings to light deeper trends making for new objectives. What we are witnessing in our days is the birth of a new state which will be the final outcome of the conflicting forces of Fascism and Communism.

In this light Dr. Ermarth and Mr. Holt are studying the problem of the New Germany. They see in it the emergence of a new society which the former calls the economic state and the later Volk Collectivism. Carefully both the favorable and the hostile forces are analysed. Which of these will be triumphant cannot at the moment be predicted. Still, whatever form of government may arise out of the gigantic struggle, it will bear the stamp of some type of totalitarianism. A movement of the intensity of Hitlerism does not sweep over a nation without leaving indelible traces. The destruction in all departments of social and political life has been too

thoroughgoing ever to allow a return to the conditions of the past. To this idea the world will have to reconcile itself.

Professor Mason views the situation mainly from the religious angle as the title sufficiently indicates. He comes to the conclusion that Christianity is engaged in a fight to the finish and that the stakes in the battle are identical for Catholicism and Protestantism. It is for him the old question of God and Caesar, albeit in a modern form.

The three studies are well documented and in their unbiased presentation of the case very instructive.

C. BRUEHL.

Overbrook, Penna.

Hitler and the Christians. By WALDEMAR GURIAN. Translated by E. F. PEELER. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1936. Pp. 175.)

This little book presents an excellent though naturally sometimes wearisome survey of the ugly struggle and controversy between the Nazi government and the Christian churches in modern Germany. The story is reliable, the author is well informed. In fact we learn something here and there the average German Catholic does not know regarding the Centre party and especially regarding the Protestant churches in their relation to the state.

The author calls attention to the fact that many Catholics in Germany rejected the Centre party as being too Liberal, that the Centre because of political fairness made distasteful concessions to Socialists and freethinkers, that the Bayrische Volkspartei resented this liberal trend, that within the Centre party there was a strong conservative body of persons discontended with any insipid Liberalism, that Centre party leaders like Stegerwald and Brüning as early as 1920 spoke of the need of a *new* Christian party! In the years immediately before Hitler's taking over the government this murmuring is supposed to have increased in volume; designs of this new conservative nature were ascribed even to the prelate Kaas, the chairman of the Centre party. In brief the author undertakes to show that the time for "co-operation of Catholicism with the national will" (p. 31) was ripe. But what was "the national will," in 1930? There was no unanimity of purpose and thought anywhere. However, Brüning's reported speeches in America in recent months seem to confirm Gurian's statements. Brüning did not believe the republican form of government fitted the heart and mind of the average German but was forced on the public through the Versailles treaty and was not really welcome.

The Weimer constitution brought almost golden times to the Catholics; it opened up new fields of activity for them; it put an end to special laws of former years. Gurian points out (p. 34) that some groups of German Catholicism acquired the reputation of being a mere beneficiary

of the republic, and a "most unprincipled beneficiary that was enamoured of the disruptive and destructive spirit of the times, and for that reason fought against the national revival" (p. 34). (Again, there was no "national" revival except in what certain people were pleased to call "national.") We did not know that Protestants "suffered from the Personalpolitik that was to procure for the Catholics the "parity" that had hitherto been withheld from them" (p. 35). According to Gurian the Catholic Church seemed to have profited from the eclipse of the Protestant imperial glory, and for Protestants—he says—it was most galling to be dependent on the goodwill of the Centre party (p. 35.). If this be so it helps to explain the events of 1933 and the hostility of the Nazis towards "political Catholicism."

The first chapter of the book gives a résumé of the relations of Church and State in former centuries in Germany, reminds also of predecessors of the present-day struggles, of former endeavors at cultural unification, and the resisting forces, from Luther to the Brandenburgian Great Elector, to the "Prussian Union" (1817), to Tieck, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Hermes, Döllinger, Schell, Ronge, to "enlightened" Catholics, to the time of "Kulturkampf," Lagarde, Jesuitism, Centre party, Hertling, Erzberger. Then follows a chapter on the Christian creeds under the republican régime, the coalition of Liberals, Centre and Socialists, the alleged continued cleavage between "Christianity" and "nationality" (p. 24), the political successes of the Catholics, the liberal and conservative wings in the Centre Party—just mentioned—and among Protestant ministers and laymen. The third chapter portrays Hitler's rise, and analyzes his concept of religion and state as found in his book "Mein Kampf."

Here is a nice topic for an American scholar in this field: "Hitler's theories of Christianity and Church history." Gurian has merely touched this problem.

Correctly Gurian states that "the struggle for the Church in the Third Reich is a struggle for the soul of the Church. It is not . . . a struggle for political strongholds . . . nor is it a squabble between pastors and theological professors . . . but to set earthly values and régimes in the place of Christ. Hitherto, however, the supra-ecclesiastical nature of the struggle has not been clearly revealed" (pp. 157-158).

A long chapter deals furthermore with Protestant matters which are somewhat difficult for the uninitiated to comprehend. We read of the "German Christian" shock troops and their defeat, of episcopal sees for leaders of the "German Christians," of Reichsbischof Müller and how he was forced to relinquish his position as patron of the German Christians (p. 87); we read of the appointment of Mr. Kerrl as Reich Minister for Church Affairs, of the counter-attack by the "Confessional Church," of

Karl Barth, Marahrens, Meiser. This part of the book will be unintelligible to the average Catholic American not familar with the details of German religious life. The next chapter regards the Catholic Church and her Concordat with Hitler, pastoral letters by the German bishops, Catholic associations, schools, sterilization laws, Cardinal Faulhaber, Cardinal Bertram, the elections, the Saar and its religious aspects, etc.

The style of the book is rather heavy as can be expected; the book itself is highly instructive; it follows the events up to October 1935 and adds a chronological table.

P. G. GLEIS.

The Catholic University of America.

The Spanish Tragedy, 1930-1936. By E. ALLISON PEERS. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. 247. $2.50.)

Shining through every page of this book is a most thorough comprehension of the very complex and confusing situation which culminated in the present frightful civil war in Spain. The author understands Spain as well as any English-speaking person alive today, and he has long since fathomed the enigmatic Spanish character and temperament. He is thereby capable of discussing that country's difficulties of recent years with sympathy and with authority. That he has presented such a muddled situation clearly enough for all to understand is a tribute to his mastery of the subject.

Professor Peers, who has already in the past given us many another work on Spain, applies keen analysis and clear vision to sift away the chaff and preserve for us everything relevant and significant, so that we are given a true and careful story of the political history of Spain from the beginning of 1930 down to August of 1936. It is a narration which, considering the controversial nature of the material, is singularly free from prejudice of any sort, a fact that obviously adds greatly to the value of the work. This is not to say that the author is so concerned with impartiality that he confines his remarks to harmless generalities or that he finds no fault anywhere, for indeed he is as quick to point out the failings of all parties as he is to praise the same persons for any constructive efforts. There is ample documentation for every statement made; moreover, the author himself was on hand in person to witness a good bit of what he relates.

The book makes no attempt to deal with the civil war itself, but rather tries to set forth and explain the various causes which led up to the actual struggle. In a preface the author admonishes us to "cease taking sides in the conflict and try to understand," because "it is useless to pronounce upon these events."

Keeping in mind the hectic and eventful nature of the period covered in these pages, one can only be amazed that so much has been said in so few words. The work is almost a masterpiece of conciseness and restraint. The treatment is full and complete enough, but no word is wasted. Almost never does the author impose any of his personal opinions on the reader, though such opinions from Professor Peers would be as acceptable, unbiased, and authoritative as could be secured anywhere.

The Spanish Tragedy does justice both to ex-King Alfonso and to the dictator Primo de Rivera. The merits and the defects of the dictatorship from 1923 to 1930 are sensibly weighed. With respect to Alfonso, the author, while pointing out his fatal mistakes, admires the monarch's nobility of character during the critical period which ended with the king's departure from the country. One obtains the definite impression that Alfonso was considerably greater in defeat than when in power.

As is natural, much mention is made of Manuel Azaña, for this man was unquestionably the key figure in the history of the republic from shortly after its establishment to the outbreak of the struggle which still rages. To this reviewer, however, it seems at times that Professor Peers has slightly more consideration for Azaña than the man merits. For, after all, the only fair judgment of him would appear to be that he was little more than a shrewd and unscrupulous politician, with no respect for the opposition or for the expressed desires of the people but with a great craving to be always in power, whatever the method and whatever the cost. It might in a sense be said that Azaña is more responsible than any other single individual for the war which now is ruining Spain. There are also moments in the book when the author seems to deal somewhat lightly with the powerful but frustrated leader of the Right, Gil Robles.

In connection with Franco's justification for his revolt, it is interesting to note that Professor Peers points out more than once the fact that the Leftists rose in rebellion in October of 1934 with no cause other than that the people had overwhelmingly rejected them in a fair election. He also calls attention to the fact that the elections of February, 1936, returned the Left to power at the expense of the Center and not of the Right, which actually lost very little strength (the Robles *Ceda* party was still the largest in the Cortes).

This book is not a minutely detailed history of these fateful years in Spain, but it most surely will be of untold aid to the historian when the latter turns his attention in the future to this period so disastrous to the Spanish nation.

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The Martyrs of Florida. By Luís Gerónimo de Oré, O. F. M. Translated by Maynard Geiger, O. F. M. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 1936. Pp. xx-145. $1.00.)

This slender book is a new and important contribution to our early American history. Written and published in Spain three centuries ago by a Peruvian friar who had come to the Floridas and witnessed much whereof he writes, it is now for the first time put in English dress. A plain readable rendering is richly enhanced by a good biographical introduction and by numerous and apposite explanatory notes, which, in acquainting the reader with persons and places and the then pathless travel routes from the Gulf to the Potomac, manifest wide and accurate research into the complicated missionary as well as tribal history of Spanish Florida.

Born in Peru in 1554, Fray Oré was one of seven children, of whom the three daughters became Poor Clares and the four sons Franciscan apostles of the native tribes. This would indicate a religious spirit and zeal in the Spanish colonists of which the gloating recorders of their cruelties give no intimation. All four brothers apostolized the native tribes in their own tongues, and Luis published at Lima several books of instruction in various dialects including a practical method for teaching Christian Doctrine in Peruvian speech. Other missionaries were producing like religious works in Indian thru all South and Central America; and when Fray Luis reached Florida, in 1612, he found that Fray Pareja had composed even more elaborate treatises in Timucuan, and forty years earlier the Jesuit Brother Baez had produced grammars and dictionaries in the Georgian dialect, and even set his teachings in verse.

In 1612 Fray Oré went to Spain where, receiving copies of "La Florida" from its Inca author, he recruited 21 friars for Florida and, appointed Commissary and Episcopal Delegate, he visited in 1614 and 1616 the 45 missions in our southeastern territory, and composed his Relation of the Martyrs, inserting accounts furnished him by Father Pareja and other actors and witnesses. His record of the Jesuit martyrs and missionaries of Florida, Georgia, Carolina and Virginia, 1566 to 1572, and also of Governor Menéndez' founding achievements, is frequently at fault; but his errors are corrected and his information supplemented by Father Geiger with apposite citations from the story of the Jesuit missions in Part II of *The Romance of the Floridas* by this reviewer (Bruce: Milwaukee, 1935). The statement that the boy Alonso Olmos (whom Fray Oré calls "de Lara" from the city of his later residence in Spain) was the sole surviving witness to the eight Jesuit martyrs of Virginia in 1571, is inaccurate. There was also the evidence of the Indian witnesses whom the Jesuit recorders interviewed near the scene of the martyrdom and took with them to Havana.

The narrative throws instructive light on the character and habits of the natives and the countless obstacles the missionaries encountered as well as on the heroism of their martyrs and the unconquerable zeal which resulted in the settled Christianization of some thirty thousand natives within a century. It ends in 1616; but this was not the end of the long line of Franciscan martyrs. Scores were added by Governor Moore and the British Carolinians, who by slaughter, fire and torture, 1701-1704, practically extinguished missions and missionaries, and carried the native Christian remnants into slavery. Professor Lanning outlines this in his valuable *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* but none has yet given an adequate account of the Franciscan achievements in the Floridas which compare with the best that either Franciscans or Jesuits accomplished in California. Father Geiger had proved his competency to accomplish this difficult task; and we trust that he will fill this wide gap in our American Catholic story.

MICHAEL KENNY, S. J.

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Catholicism in New England to 1788. By the REV. ARTHUR RILEY, A. M. (Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1936. Pp. ix, 479.)

This doctoral dissertation ranks high among the already well-known studies in American Church History, brought out under the direction of Dr. Guilday. It is a thoroughly documented investigation into the attitude of the New England colonial mind toward the Catholic Religion, from the earliest days of New England up to the date when the first Catholic parish was founded in that territory. Fr. Riley excluded from his treatment the ground covered so efficiently by Sister Mary Celeste Leger in volume VIII of the same series of studies, entitled *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine.* Despite this reduction of the field, he has been able, chiefly from secondary sources, to present some three hundred pages of material, directly touching his subject, and to furnish a bibliography, covering seventy pages. His work therefore becomes the outstanding contribution to the exposition of this point of view that is extant.

The final chapter of the book, entitled "Catholics in New England," gathers together in some forty-five pages the gleanings of the undoubtedly small number of Catholics really resident during the colonial period. This chapter is in a certain sense the logical accompaniment of the whole previous part of the book: its contents find their explanation in the fine analysis of the colonial mind, set forth in the first seven chapters. These studies of the colonial outlook on Catholicism, either as a whole, or in its rule of faith, tradition and sacraments, its worship, its history and its

priests, form the true meat of the thesis. They draw their material from the sermons, almanacs, school-books, catechisms, diaries, polemical lectures, pamphlets, and libraries of the period, as well as from the law and history books of the time. And there is ample recourse to the latest monographs on many an individual subject. In fine, there is a wealth of source material employed.

These chapters make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the underlying unity in New England colonial culture. They clearly point the way to an understanding of that civilization, which has made so deep an impress on American culture, for they reveal the presence and effect in it of a continuously identical and powerful element. Each chapter covers its subject from 1620 until 1788, and manifests the same enduring and fundamental opposition to things Catholic, whatever the field of contact. During the changing fortunes here of the varied types of Reformed religion and amidst the divergencies of politics and commerce, there was an unchanging viewpoint, more or less common to the different groups and more or less present in every outstanding incident. Fr. Riley grasps and presents that fundamental religious element in New England, so often presented in the past, but he pictures it in its real and explicit relation to Catholicism—a complete and many-sided protest.

Into his picture come of course Pope and Prelate, Infallibility and Inquisition, Idolatry and Indulgences, Pretender and Plotter, Missionary and Merchant, Captive and Convert, and the many similar well-known catch words of the New England religious background. But there are also references to the culture, learning, zeal and piety of the moulders of New England thought.

The whole book is marked with an admirable realism, as well as a painstaking and praiseworthy completeness. In it there is no single phrase or generalization employed to hurt the feelings of non-Catholics. The author betrays no sign of prejudice or partiality, but adds document to document until his picture is finished of itself, from the materials employed. Perhaps that is why the summaries both in the individual chapters and at the end of the whole are comparatively meagre; but it is also a passport for the book to many a non-Catholic library or other such institution.

After one judges the book as a whole, one's memory recalls certain parts in particular. Perhaps, first among these is the highly interesting and generally satisfying treatment of the Massachusetts anti-priest law of 1647. Here the author both by his view-point and his accumulation of material comes nearer to a solution of this unique problem than previous writers, and certainly opens a way to the final explanation. He is not quite so happy anent the law of 1700. More material at this place would have been pleasing. In the La Tour incident treated in pages 178 and following, there is in like manner room for a larger treatment, by intro-

ducing for example more of the illustrative material from Winthrop and Hutchinson. It would surely be worth the space involved to summarize, if not quote, Winthrop's *Journal*, Volume II, pages 132 to 138 (in the edition by Savage, Boston, 1853), inasmuch as it opens a whole door into the colonial mind.

Attention is deservedly to be called to the section on the New England captives in Canada (pages 163 to 174). The author has here not only opened up a subject, but also characteristically pursued it to details that are as important as they are interesting. He has rightly assigned much of his amazing wealth of material to the Appendix E, providing the sources for another book, but not really aiding the unity of this one.

Likewise in the Bibliography, there are proofs of the author's extraordinary diligence as well as of his over-great generosity. The first two sections dealing with almanacs, and covering some thirty pages, really amount to supplementary check-lists, but their place in this book may well be questioned.

The reviewer ends these remarks reluctantly, because the book is so worth-while, and offers so rich a field for comment and congratulations. He feels that it is the first worthy study of the basic element in New England colonial culture in its relation to Catholicism, put together from historical sources with highly commendable impartiality and excellent insight. The book will surely become a handy-book for every student of the period.

JOHN E. SEXTON.

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William G. Brownlow: Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. By E. MERTON COULTER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xl, 432. $3.50.)

The secondary title of this book is an apt characterization of the man whose life it records. As "Parson Brownlow" and the "Fighting Parson," he has become embalmed in the history of that region, East Tennessee, in which the greater part of his hectic, colorful career was passed. He was born in 1805 at Wytheville, Virginia, was converted at a Methodist camp meeting when twenty years of age, became a Methodist preacher, and for several years rode the circuit for many wide, rough miles over the Southern Highlands. He no doubt often intoned that line of the song, "Are there no foes for me to face?" but he could not have made a personal application of the question. Wherever he went he encountered foes of his beloved Methodism to stir his wrath and challenge his fighting spirit, and he never shirked from facing them. The Devil

was above all things a Calvinist and might hide behind the whiskers of a Baptist preacher or pitch the voice and guide the pen of a Presbyterian divine; but, whatever form the archenemy assumed, the parson was "up and at him," and, in his own opinion, he never failed to drive his foe screeching in retreat.

Catholics were scarce in the parson's domain, but early in his ministerial career he heard of them and failed not to denounce them. Once, for instance, he declared, "Ignorance never produced one item of felicity to any man; the opinions of Roman Catholics and Baptists to the contrary notwithstanding." On another occasion, when proclaiming the value and the virtue of religious controversy, he asserted, "had it not been for *controversy,* Romish Priests would now be feeding us with *Latin masses* and a *wafer god.*"

Of controversies, religious and political, his whole long life was filled to overflowing—although controversy is altogether too mild a term for any combat in which Brownlow had a part. Some of his debates with Baptists and Presbyterians are historic events. He even had his debates with the Abolitionists; although in the end, with the preservation of the Union as his aim, he joined forces with the worst of them.

As a matter of course no pent-up Utica of a village pulpit could long suffice for such a boiling cauldron of humanity; he must needs employ the printing press as a purveyor of his sloshings and outpourings. Accordingly he established for himself an organ of expression, the *Whig,* begun at Elizabethton in 1839, and a year later removed to the somewhat larger town of Jonesboro. But Jonesboro in its turn soon proved to be too small for him, and in 1849 he transferred his talents to Knoxville, where his paper presently took on the personal title of *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* and whence the fighting parson's fame spread far and wide over the land.

By this time of course Brownlow had become more the politician than the preacher, although in him politics and religion were never unscrambled. In his Elizabethton and Jonesboro days he had written a series of articles warning the people against the Catholics as the great danger to America, and a little later, having convinced himself that Jackson and the Democrats were in alliance with the pope, he had written a book to denounce them. On that other Andrew of Tennessee, Johnson, he likewise poured his scalding suds. He not only denounced Johnson, "here upon his own dunghill," as "an UNMITIGATED LIAR AND CALUMINATOR AND A VILLAINOUS COWARD," but as an atheist, and what was worse, as belonging to a party that was fast becoming the tool of the pope. When the Know-nothings appeared on the horizon Brownlow rushed out to join them in combating foreign enemies of whatever breed, and the Catholics in particular. In 1856 he brought his campaign against the Catholics to a grand climax in a book of which the principal part of the title was *Americanism Contrasted*

with Foreignism, Romanism, and Bogus Democracy. In this book he offered some astounding figures. The Catholics, he asserted, had killed 68,000,000 human beings, and if one were to "average each person slain at four gallons of blood, . . . it makes TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO MILLIONS OF GALLONS!—enough to overflow the banks of the Mississippi, and destroy all the sugar and cotton plantations in Mississippi and Louisiana!"

The Civil War and reconstruction brought to Brownlow a wonderful opportunity for the exploitation of his extraordinary talents. Perched on that Vesuvius of Unionism called East Tennessee, he was not only privileged proudly to preside over the eruptions of that volcano, he could to his utmost satisfaction heat his own hatreds and spew his own lava of denunciation.

For all this, however, as for much more, the reviewer can do no more than point the reader to Professor Coulter's lively narrative. Even there the half has not been told, yet Professor Coulter has succeeded admirably in setting the Fighting Parson before us in the flesh and in the spirit. "He was," says Professor Coulter, "one of the most dynamic personalities of his times." Yet, though "he created a great disturbance, he produced nothing lasting." He failed utterly "to grasp the fundamental principles which underlie the inevitable progress of civilization." Strangely enough, "In Brownlow the elements were mixed . . . Publicly he could be a raging irresponsible terrorist; privately he could be as gentle as the Good Samaritan. . . . He had high moral and intellectual qualities, but he had no sense of taste or fitness." Said one of the Tennessee papers concerning him: "His private life was an utter contradiction of the nature he exhibited in public. Socially he was genial and sympathetic, in his family almost idealized, and among his immediate neighbors, especially the poor, he was held in the highest esteem." "He was the product of his times," says the author as he closes the book, "but his times produced none other like him."

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Washington, D. C.

The Story of American Dissent. By JOHN M. MECKLIN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1934. Pp. 381.)

Mr. Mecklin is mainly concerned with "dissent" in America as a political struggle to effect what is commonly called "separation of Church and State," particularly in Virginia to the year 1795, and in Massachusetts to the year 1833. In this struggle the Baptists, Quakers and Presbyterians figure as the principal "dissenters." The Congregationalists and the Unitarians in Massachusetts, and the Anglicans in Virginia represent the

establishment contention, inherited from colonial times and supported by cultural arguments to which Mr. Mecklin does full justice. The author sometimes approaches the standpoint of Matthew Arnold in recognizing a distinction, in Protestant bodies, between a "sect-type" and a "church-type"; the latter being characterized by a broader sense of responsibility to society as a whole, by provision for institutional permanency and for child-nurture and education, patronage of the arts, and a guardianship of morals, sometimes rigorist, but tending to be determined by social expediency. The "sect," on the contrary, formed to confront a hopelessly wicked world with a special piety of its own, was essentially illiberal, less provident in child-nurture because of its conception of religion as a matter for mature adult choice; less "tolerant" in spirit than the church-type, it contributed in effect to the cause of toleration by the exigency of its demand for room in society for plurality of religious persuasion.

"Dissent" here is not exclusively identified with sectism, but rather with that phase or stage of the sect attack upon establishment when it made common cause with other groups and based its demand on some general social maxim applicable to other groups as well as to its own. The chapter on Roger Williams treats him as "the forthright dissenter." The evolution of Williams' irreconcilable dualism in church-and-state theory is traced, and the author confesses a "queer feeling of disillusionment and unreality" in contemplating the resultant of the speculations. It would seem that not only in Williams', but in the author's own view of the long-range working-out of the "logic of dissent," the latter must lead to the social sterility of religion, to the complete secularization of society, and to the omnicompetence of the State (cf. pp. 106, 107; with p. 295, where human rights, even rights of conscience, are declared by the author to be "meaningless outside of a social situation").

Five out of the fourteen chapters in the account are devoted to the Bay State as the principal arena in the conflict against establishment: the persecution of the Quakers and Baptists is related in detail and with strong feeling, and reads almost like an American Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. But for all his sympathy with the harried dissenters, the author accounts, rather uncomprehendingly, for the "urge" which led them to return after each imprisonment or banishment, on grounds (p. 135) of "an irrepressible will to live." The specifically religious motives in the dissenters, and the real tragedy of the fundamentalists today, are inexplicable to a modern who seems to have little to look forward to but a new secular conformitarian ideology.

The chapters on the revival movement particularly show this imperfect understanding of the religious zealotry which both persecutors and persecuted had in common. The Bay colony theocracy from the first had been aware of French influence moving southward from Champlain, and

therefore was fully conscious of its own position as a Protestant outpost of the religious war in the new world. The "Great Awakening" of the eighteenth century was the struggle of colonial Protestantism to hold a distinctively religious position against the growth of indifference and unbelief under new-world conditions; and revivalism was what supplied the "dissenter"-sects with a fighting-edge of dogmatic conviction just at the time when Calvinistic dogma was crumbling in the tax-supported churches of the original Bay colony theocracy. The established Congregational and Unitarian churches of Masachusetts were able to hold their ground against the attack of the Baptists and the Quakers until 1833 because the latter in that section were relatively weak in educational theory and provision; the educational churches, with their schools and colleges, had arguments for continued tax support which enlisted against the dissenters most of the Bay State "natural-rights" political leaders such as Samuel Adams, John Adams, Tom Paine, and even (until convinced otherwise in 1820) Daniel Webster (v. pp. 202-204; 331-333). In Virginia the fight against establishment was the sooner and the more easily won, not only because the southern "natural-rights" philosophers, such as Jefferson, Madison and Patrick Henry were from the first on the side of the dissenters, but also because among those dissenters were intellectually able Presbyterians, with an articulate educational tradition. Mr. Mecklin inclines to attribute the longer survival of religious establishment in New England to its alliance with vested property interests and the relative poverty of the dissenters. The Virginia philosophers were more idealistic and chivalrous than their colder and more canny counterparts in New England.

True though this may be, more emphasis upon the cultural and the religious contrasts between the dissenters and the Bay State establishments would better illustrate that educational sequel to the victory of the dissenters in 1833 upon which Mr. Mecklin does not touch at all, but which practically determined the whole status of tax-supported education in this country ever since. It was the distinctively *religious* conviction and energy with which revivalism armed the dissenters that enabled them to carry to success their long fight against tax-support of churches; it was the *educational* weakness of the revivalist bodies, and the *religious* decadence of the more cultural churches against whose public privileges the dissenters fought, that combined to render the "separation of church and state" such a hollow victory so far as Protestant religious interest was concerned: for since the sects were relatively vague about child-nurture and the cultural churches had lost dogma and zeal, there was no energy left in either camp to fight for the religious rights of parents over the education of their children. Tax-supported public education, thenceforth to be scrupulously "non-sectarian," delivered the children of Protestants *en masse* to the

pedagogy of phrenologists like George Combe and utilitarians like Horace Mann. A new barrier against Catholicism was indeed erected—how different from the Calvinistic bulwark reared by the Winthrops, Cottons and Endicotts! How completely fatal to any future that Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield or John Wesley could possibly have hoped for!

This "story of American dissent" abounds in acute observations on the sociology of denominationalism and on the interaction of religious and political movements in early American history. There is a clear perception of the contribution of Baptist and Quaker conceptions of the relation of organized religion to society as a whole, to the more widely-accepted presuppositions, in America, in regard to toleration and the relations between Church and State (pp. 355, 356). Although the Catholic contribution to the history of tolerance in America is nowhere, apparently, reckoned with, the few allusions made to the Church or to Catholic matters are never careless, with the exception of a reference to St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Francis of Assisi as "dissenters" kept within the Church by a wise policy (pp. 335, 360). There are several discriminating paragraphs (pp. 346-348) on the practical working in America of the separation between Church and State, and on the impossibility of a thorough-going separation (p. 354). The relation between sectarian dissent and tolerance is recognized to be tactical rather than inherent, though sometimes this recognition is confused by language that associates dissent essentially with "zeal for toleration" (ex. p. 32). Distinction between merely legal toleration and a toleration that presupposes "education, insight and social wisdom" (p. 356) is emphasized, but it is not quite clear that toleration in the latter sense may not amount to indifference to all definite religious belief; for the author tentatively questions (p. 357) the very right of religious autonomy for which all the sects originally contended, which involved the right "to cast out conscientious objectors" from the sect claiming autonomy. "They take advantage," he comments, "of legal tolerance to practice spiritual intolerance." The paradox here is more apparent than real: what else is the right of free assemblage than the right of like-minded people to meet and to exclude, if they see fit, hecklers? Toleration otherwise conceived, only negates itself. The author closes on a note of complaint against the obscurantism of the "dissenting-revivalist" churches—a curiously lame ending to a story of dissent. It is as though a critic of Shakespeare should complain that Macbeth dies fighting, instead of deciding to take a course in tree-surgery, at the sight of the advancing Birnam Wood.

In the main, the author follows the Chicago University historians of American religion by emphasizing the frontier as determinative of the character of American Protestantism, conceived as something almost *sui generis*. In the account of the New England persecutions of dis-

senters, too much reliance is placed upon the unfavorable view of the early Puritan divines given currency by Josiah Quincy, Justin Winsor and other Unitarian historians of Harvard. Knowing, as he does, how long the New England establishments maintained themselves in general popular favor and were defended by intellectual leaders, the author might find a contributory explanation of this in the ability of the Puritan divines to hold their cultural and popular leadership before and after the Revolutionary period (v. C. K. Shipton in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1935). The studies of Max Weber, Troeltsch, Zollmann and other sociological surveys of religion are used, and their influence on the standpoint of the author is often evident, modified by disposition to guard against viewing the subject in too close connection with European background (p. 9). The generalizations of T. C. Hall, who traces American cultural tradition back to Saxon restiveness under the Norman Conquest since 1066, are definitely repudiated; yet the notion of "dissent" as a manifestation of economic class-struggle appears frequently throughout the account.

W. T. M. Gamble.

Washington, D. C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Right Rev. Msgr. Patrick J. Healy, S. T. D., a member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America since 1903, and Patrick Quinn Professor of Church History, died on May 18, 1937. Monsignor Healy, a former co-editor of this REVIEW, was the author of *The Valerian Persecution,* and *Historical Christianity and the Social Question,* and a contributor to the *American Historical Review, The Catholic World, Commonweal, America* and other periodicals.

On April 8th the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred by the National University of Ireland on Dr. James Kenney, former president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Marquette University has recently awarded honorary degrees to Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg and Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton in recognition of their very notable contributions to the history of the Catholic mission era.

Mr. Thomas F. O'Connor, of the department of history of St. Louis University, has been appointed professor of history at St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont.

On Sunday, June 6, 1937, all those students who had followed his courses in the University of Louvain, met at the Institut de Spoelbergh to participate in the conferring of the "Prix Quinquennal d'Histoire Nationale" upon Professor Léon van der Essen who has recently finished his great work on Alexander Farnese.

The congratulations of the REVIEW are extended to the John Murphy Co., Baltimore, Md., which has had a successful, uninterrupted history for 100 years. Two years after its founder, John Murphy (1812-1880), established a printing and stationery business in Baltimore in 1835, the firm began a career which gave encouragement to Catholic authors and made available Catholic literature at reasonable cost. Cardinal Gibbons's classic, *The Faith of Our Fathers,* is still being issued in new editions by the company; James McSherry's *History of Maryland* (1850) and important writings of Bishop England, Archbishop Spalding, and Cardinal Wiseman also appeared with the imprint of this well-known house. In 1855, Mr. Murphy was awarded the Papal Medal of Merit for the publication of the *Definition of the Immaculate Conception*; eleven years later, in recognition of the publication of the *Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore,* permission to use the title of Typographer to the Apostolic See was given him. *Ad multos annos!*

One of the foremost students of liturgiology, the Right Reverend Dom Fernand Cabrol, O. S. B., Abbot of Farnborough monastery, died on June

4, 1937. His many publications in the field of which he was a master have aided immeasurably in promoting the art and science of liturgy. As editor of the now famous *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Dom Cabrol's name became known throughout the Christian world. He was Vice-President of the Lingard Society, whose work closely resembles that of the American Catholic Historical Association, and to him came many singular honors — O. B. E. (Officer of the Order of the British Empire) for his Red Cross work during the World War, F. S. A. (Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries), Officier d'Académie Française, and Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. His was a long life—he was born in Marseilles in 1855—and a fruitful one, and while all of his works were published in French, the most important were translated by Miss Catherine M. Woodcock (C. M. Antony).

In the death of Edward Eyre, K. C. S. G., at the age of eighty-seven on May 20, 1937, Catholic historical interests lost their leading Maecenas. As a member of the firm of Messrs. Grace and Company, of which he later became president, Mr. Eyre spent over a decade of years in New York City. Later he settled permanently in London. The *Universe* (May 28, 1937) says of him: "Here he quickly became one of the most active and respected laymen of the country, and his benefactions were continuous and enormous in their total." During the past twelve years he has labored in cooperation with a group of scholars in a seven-volume work—*European Civilization, its History and Development*, of which five volumes have already appeared.

The Rev. Alfons Vaeth, S. J., who recently died in Bonn, Germany, at the age of sixty-three, was the most prolific of all Catholic writers in the field of missiology. Among his works are: *Der hl. Thomas, der apostel Indiens* (1918), *Die deutschen Jesuiten in Indien* (1920), and *Im Kanpf mit der Zauberwelt des Hinduismus* (1928).

At the thirteenth spring meeting of the American Society of Church History, held at Evanston, Ill., May 7 and 8, Mr. Thomas F. O'Connor of St. Louis University read a paper on the Evolution of American Catholic Historiography.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its thirtieth annual meeting in St. Louis, April 29-May 1. As usual very little attention was given to religion and much less to the Catholic Church. On the other hand the economic and social features of life in the great American West made up the major portion of a rich program.

For popular appeal and as high-class entertainment the dinner meetings were pronounced unique. Professor Edward Everett Dale in his presidential address told the story of the "Cow Country in Transition" with the poetic finish of a born story-teller and with the inevitable pathos of one who has survived the losing fight of the cowboy against the prosaic

advance of the settler. Doctor Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society enlisted the aid of a piano and a volunteer prima donna to exemplify his "Immigration and the Westward Movement in Ballad and Song." If the audience was highly pleased, this did not militate in the least against the academic value of the performance.

The tensest moment of the three days came at the end of a luncheon conference when an attack, brief but almost bitter, was made upon Doctor Joseph Schafer's thesis that the West was "a Safety Valve for Labor." It was an excellent example of a thesis provoking contradiction out of which may emerge a statement of the case acceptable to both parties. At least it was quite evident that the scholars concerned were very much in earnest. At a second luncheon conference Father Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J., was given an opportunity to make a plea for sympathetic interest in the Marquette Tercentenary of the current year.

Vol. I of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1935, just released, is a slender volume of only 219 pages, devoted to the proceedings of the Association for 1933, 1934, and 1935; the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch for the same years, and the reports of the Conference of Historical Societies. Vol. II will contain Miss Grace Griffin's annual bibliography of *Writings on American History*. Reductions in the governmental printing appropriations account for the tardiness in getting the proceedings before the members and for the omission of documentary and bibliographical material to be found in former reports. The volumes for 1936 will probably resume the printing of such matter.

Dr. Jameson's report of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress enumerates with interesting description the important accessions during 1935-1936. In these pages should be mentioned: a part of Father Joaquin Martínez de Zúñiga's *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, giving much detailed information regarding ecclesiastical affairs in the Philippines; and the series of photographic reproductions of medieval or early modern European manuscripts, done under the direction of the Modern Language Association. Included in the latter material are a Greek manuscript of the Gospel of St. Mark, three manuscripts of the Allegories of Peter of Poitiers, and Alcuin's "De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis." Some 33,244 pages were added during this period to the photographic reproductions of materials in the archives of England, France, and Spain.

There has been a recent awakening to the need of manuals and studies in the field of American historiography. For a long time Dr. Jameson's account of the beginnings of historical writing in the colonial and early national eras and Professor Bassett's volume on the middle period were alone in the field. There has been, it is true, a growing bibliography of titles of books and articles dealing with individual historians, but until lately no attempts were made to develop the subject in its wider scope.

Promised volumes in honor of Professor Jernegan and by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes have already been mentioned in these columns. The latest in the field is Professor Michael Kraus, of the College of the City of New York, whose *History of American History* attempts "the first complete and critical survey of American historical writing from the Norse Sagas to the work of Charles A. Beard and Allan Nevins" (Farrar and Rinehart).

The value of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences: Ninth Year, 1934* (H. W. Wilson Co., New York, 950-972 University Avenue, 1936, pp. 487) for current bibliography is known to all students of history. To none more than to those interested in the history of the Catholic Church may these thoroughly-edited volumes be recommended. The nine volumes issued so far cover the current historical publication from 1926 to 1934 inclusive.

Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time* has been completed. The first 82 parts were done by Sabin before his death in 1881. Parts 83-116 were the work of Dr. Wilberforce Eames, 1884-1892. In 1917 appeared part 117, largely the work of Miss Elizabeth G. Greene and Miss Marjorie Watkins. In 1930, Mr. R. W. G. Vail, representing the Bibliographical Society of America, became editor, and thereafter directed a number of collaborators in finishing this monumental task. The final serial number is 106,413.

Since Father Joseph M. Finotti published Part I of his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (1784-1820) in 1872, it has remained the only standard work on early Catholic books printed in the United States. An attempt is now being made by Father Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., to assemble in the Riggs Library at Georgetown University as many as possible of the books listed by Finotti, and to carry the list on to 1830, which now is the date usually set for early Americana. He has succeeded beyond his expectations in gathering together, with about a dozen exceptions, all the books and pamphlets in Finotti's list; and, moreover, has found many of which Finotti was unaware. In this he was helped considerably by the large collection of John Gilmary Shea, which Georgetown bought from the great historian's executors, by an agreement made with Shea before his death. Many of these books are extremely rare, and a large number are not listed in Evans or Sabin, the standard works on early Americana. It is the intention of Father Parsons to catalogue the collection and before the summer is ended to send mimeographed copies of this list to librarians throughout the country so that they may add any items which he has missed. The completed list will then be published in book form and will be available to historians and librarians. The project should stimulate interest in our early Catholic books; and maybe also help to preserve some of them from destruction.

Doctor McGuire's detailed criticism of Palanque's work on Saint Ambrose (*v.* this REVIEW, XXII, 304-318) is given an appreciative review by Abbot Capelle in the *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et mediévale,* III (1937), 12.

Religious Tradition and Myth, by Prof. Erwin R. Goodenough, is based on lectures given at Colorado College in 1935 (Yale University Press).

Christendom and Islam is the story of their contacts and cultures down the centuries, written by Dr. Wilson Cash (Harper).

Bloud et Gay (Paris) announce the publication of the fourth volume of *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours,* published under the direction of Augustin Fliche, dean of the faculty of letters of Montpelier, and Msgr. Victor Martin, dean of the faculty of Catholic theology at Strassburg. This fourth volume of the projected series of twenty-four is entitled *De la mort de Théodose à l'avènement de Grégoire le Grand.* Its authors are P. de Labriolle, G. Bardy, Louis Bréhier, and G. de Plinval.

Interest in the Middle Ages is being aroused by the realization that the beginning of many of the problems that face the present-day state may be traced back to that period. This has resulted in France in the publication of several excellent works dealing with that era in history. One of the most recent is H. St. L. B. Moss' *La Naissance du Moyen Age, 395-814* (Payot).

The University of Chicago Press announces a volume of *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson,* a tribute from a number of former students of Professor Thompson. Among the contents are listed: A Critic of the Fourteenth Century: St. Birgitta of Sweden, by Conrad Bergendoff; the Beginning of the Struggle between the Regular and Secular Clergy, by Helen Bittermann; the Church and Market Reform in England during the Reign of Henry III, by J. L. Cate; the Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion, by Einar Joranson; the Emergence of Conciliarism, by J. T. McNeill; and Bernward of Hildesheim, by F. J. Tschan.

Römische Quartalschrift, 44 (1936), 105-122, has an interesting article on the rise of nationalism by Frederich Bock: "Kaisertum, Kurie und Nationalstaat im Beginn des 14 Jahrhunderts." The same issue has two articles on early Christian archaeology: "Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzesübergabe an Petrus in der Konstantinischen Kunst Roms" (pp. 45-66), by Johann Kollwitz, and "Die Heiligen mit dem Kreuz in der altchristlichen Kunst" (pp. 67-104), by Ernst Schäfer.

Montague Summers has written a *Popular History of Witchcraft* (Routledge, Kegan Paul). The same publishers announce the appearance in English of vols. XXV and XXVI of von Pastor's *History of the Popes.*

Church History for March prints the presidential address of the American Church History Society, on the Nature of Protestantism, by Wilhelm Pauck. In the same issue Conrad H. Moehlman gives the Baptist View of the State; and Cyril C. Richardson writes on the Condemnation of Origen.

Vol. IV, no. 2, of *St. Meinrad Historical Essays* (St. Meinrad Seminary, Indiana) offers the following: Development of Canon Law, by Patrick Kilfoil; the Codification of Canon Law, by John T. Spalding; the Pauline Privilege, by Clarence Lindauer; Sponsors at Baptism, by William O'Hare; the Origin and Development of Stole Fees, by Patrick Gleason; and the Catholic Influence on Changing Literary Values, by Jerome Palmer, O. S. B.

Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten (Genealogical Tables to the History of the European States), by Dr. Wilhelm Karl Prinz von Isenburg, is announced by J. A. Stargardt, Berlin. The work, issued in two volumes and an index volume, includes tables of all rulers of any European country and covers a period of nearly 2000 years. Its forerunner, Voigtel's work, does not go beyond the year 1829; and Camill Behr's *Genealogie der in Europa regierenden Fürstenhäuser* is limited to data concerning the families ruling at the time of its publication (1870-1890).

C. W. Previté-Orton's *History of Europe from 1198 to 1378* begins with the accession of Pope Innocent III and ends with the death of Gregory XI (Methuen).

Calling to mind the "violence of its attack" and the "sorry effects" of atheistic Communism in Russia, Mexico, and Spain, Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical letter *Divini Redemptoris,* March 19, 1937, thus consolidating the position of the Church on this subject and putting into motion something of an anti-Communist movement throughout the world.

The Pope expresses a profound distrust of Communist tactics. He writes that "in the beginning Communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people. It has therefore changed its tactics, and strives to entice the multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive." Referring to the pretensions of the Russian constitution, he urges the clergy and Catholic organizations to be on their guard against types of legislation that would reduce the freedom of the Church. He points out that the ills of society, which Communism has pledged itself to eradicate, can be treated satisfactorily only by the principles of Christian justice outlined in previous encyclicals, and he calls for action to this effect.

A rather wholesale campaign against Communism in the United States by Catholic Church leaders has given rise to the fear in certain quarters that Catholicism is aligned with the forces of Fascism. This impression, however, is strangely at variance with the accusations of the Nazi government in Germany against the Church as being in league with Communism. Responsible Catholic leaders everywhere have taken pains to point out that the Catholic Church is in league with neither, and that it sees pronounced dangers in each.

In Russia, a renewed drive against religion has coincided with the new constitution, and Communist leaders have pointed out that the lapse of anti-religious propaganda has resulted in the loss of 3,000,000 members from the League of the Militant Godless, from the enrollment of 5,000,000 four years ago. As in Germany, Mexico, and Spain, the totalitarian régime in Russia still prohibits religious education in the schools.

The second French Ecclesiastical History Congress was held at the Catholic Institute of Paris in June, His Eminence Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart presiding. The general topic of discussion was the study of local religious history. Reports were presented on the status of the work on a dictionary of monasteries, statistics on popular devotions in the mountains of Savoy, and on the life of pious confraternities in the seventeenth century. The next congress will be held in 1940.

Articles in the April number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* are: "Hippolyte de Rome et Proclus de Constantinople," by Ch. Martin, S. J.; "Pénitents et 'convertis': de la pénitence latine à la pénitence celtique," by P. Galtier; and "L'oeuvre liturgique de S. Grégoire: la septuagesime et l'alleluia," by C. Callewaert.

Abbé V. Leroquais is the author and publisher of a projected four-volume work that should be of the greatest help to students of the history of the Church in France, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France.* Abbé Leroquais announces that this work will be off the press next October. It is to consist of three volumes of texts and one volume of plates, provided with complete analytical indexes and the usual appurtenances of scholarship. It is intended to round out the series of similar catalogues prepared by the same author listing missals, books of hours, breviaries, etc.

The Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris, has just published *Le domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180)* and *Catalogue des actes de Robert II roi de France,* two theses presented by William Mendel Newman for the *doctorat ès lettres* at the University of Strasbourg. In his main thesis Dr. Newman has gathered together item by item with incredible pains the meager materials on the event of the royal domain in

the early Capetian period, a task before which redoubtable historians like Luchaire and Longnon recoiled. In the first hundred pages the author treats of the nature and geography of the domain. Those interested in mediaeval institutions will find this part of his thesis indispensable. Readers of this REVIEW will probably be especially interested in the pages devoted to the ecclesiastical domain. The 158 pages of the second part of the thesis list the items of the domain reign by reign and give 27 *pièces justificatives*. Pages 202-224 present the royal monasteries and bishopries and these are also indicated on a series of excellent maps.

The *petite thèse* (it has 209 pages), a study in diplomatic, presents the acts of Robert the Pious. They are edited with all the erudition that characterizes the similar publications under the auspices of *L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. The work represents immense progress over the catalogue of Pfister in his *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*.

Needless to say Mr. Newman is one of the few American historians to win the distinguished *doctorat ès lettres*. He has made a permanent contribution in his chosen field of Capetian institutions and doubtless will accomplish further things in the same field.

The second part of volume four of the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* by Charles Petit and P. Guinard was placed on the market during March by the Presses Universitaires (Paris). It deals with France, England and the Spanish Peninsula, and bears the title *L'essor des États d'Occident*.

Canon Louis de Lagger contributes another interesting article about the primacy of the church of Bourges over Aquitaine ("La primatie d'Aquitaine du VIII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècles," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* XXIII, 29-50). This primacy was an artificial creation brought about for political reasons when Aquitaine was made a kingdom by Charlemagne in 781. It lapsed in the next century only to be resurrected at the end of the eleventh century. The Capetians favored its primacy, since Bourges was part of the royal domain; through it they had some little grip on the territory in southwestern France held by the English king. The see of Bourges received indifferent consideration from the bishops of Aquitaine. Even a decision of Gregory IX in 1232 did not succeed in getting the archbishop of Bordeaux to recognize his primate. Bertrand de Got continued the old fight while he held the see of Bordeaux and promptly freed it from the claims of Bourges when he became Clement V. With growing centralization in the Church the importance of primates was over. A Gallican attempt in the fifteenth century to restore Bourges to its primacy proved abortive.

P. Glorieux, "Pour une édition de Gerard d'Abbeville," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et mediévale,* IX (1937), 56-84, offers a welcome treatment of Gerard of Abbeville, little-known master of the University of

Paris. He belonged to the secular clergy. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Gerard represents the scholasticism of his predecessors. He contributes little to the advance of theological and philosophical thought, but his works contain valuable matter for the history of the period. On more than one occasion he clashed with St. Thomas, with whom he was almost exactly contemporary at Paris. His polemical works have been previously treated by Glorieux in the same periodical. He wrote works on theology and philosophy, and left at least a few sermons. The present article gives titles of questions treated by Gerard and extracts which demonstrate his way of working. Presumably the work of Glorieux will blaze the trail for an edition of Gerard's writings.

The French continue their excellent work in making available concise and accurate histories of the great religious orders. Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. announced recently the publication of *Les Trappistines, Cisterciennes de la Stricte Observance* by Yvonne Estienne. Grasset has added two volumes to the collection "Le Grands Ordres Monastiques," *La Congrégation du Saint-Esprit* by Georges Goyau, and *Les Ursulines* by Marguerite Aron.

Georges Rigault is the author of a notable *Histoire générale de l'Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes*, to be published in seven sizeable volumes. Plon (Paris) offered the first volume to the public during April. It is entitled *L'oeuvre religieuse et pedagogique de Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle* (640 pp.).

Hagiographical items continue to pour from the French presses. Among the more notable works of this type may be mentioned a translation of Father Francis Talbot's life of Isaac Jogues (Spes), and another volume from the same publisher entitled *Après les guerres de religion, Saint Jean François Régis* by Father Guitton, S. J. Father Fidèle de Ros of the Capuchins is the author of *Le Père François d'Ossuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine*. This last is a work of original research that should be of great interest to the disciples of Saint Theresa and to members of the Franciscan Order. The publisher is G. Beauchesne.

Le cardinal Pazmany, 1570-1637, is the title of a brief biography from the pen of J. Kornis (Les Belles Lettres, Paris).

Oeuvres de Cardinal de Richelieu, with an introduction and notes by Roger Gaucheron, and a preface by Jacques Bainville of the Académie Française, has been recently republished in a one-volume edition by Plon (Paris).

Out of Salamanca in spite of the war comes the first fascicle of *La Ciencia Tomista* for 1937. An article by Ignacio G. Menendez-Reigada, O. P., entitled "La guerra nacional española ante la moral y el derecho"

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defends the following propositions: 1° El Gobierno del Frente Popular es ilegítimo, tiránico, traidor a la Patria y a la Nación, enemigo de Dios y de la Iglesia; 2° El alzamiento en armas contra el Frente Popular y su Gobierno es, no sólo justo y lícito, sino hasta obligatorio, y constituye por parte de Gobierno Nacional y sus seguidores la guerra mas santa que registra la historia; 3° El Gobierno Nacional es legítimo y católico, y está cumpliendo un deber patriótico, humanitario y religioso; 4° Toda ayuda o auxilio que se preste, directa o indirectamente, al Frente Popular, es ilícita; así como lo es igualmente toda oposición al legítimo Gobierno Nacional, en las actuales circunstancias; 5° Los nacionalistas vascos, como cristianos, ya que no sea como españoles, obran ilícitamente al tomar las armas contra el Gobierno Nacional y al lado del Frente Popular.

His Excellency, Msgr. Besson, bishop of Lausanne, Geneva, and Fribourg, is the author of *L'église et l'imprimerie dans les anciens diocèses de Lausanne et de Genève jusqu'en 1525*. This work is to be published in two profusely illustrated volumes, due to appear in July and September respectively. It will include complete descriptions of all ecclesiastical books printed in or for the dioceses of Lausanne and Geneva before the Protestant revolt.

Joseph Weber has written a little work of forty pages on the method to be followed in writing a parish history: *Anleitung zur Abfassung einer Pfarrgeschichte* (Hirschenhausen, Obb.: Verlag d. südostbayer. Heimatstudien).

In spite of the hardship imposed on German scholarship by the war and the Nazi régime, much valuable historical work is still being done in Germany. The challenge of the contemporary Nazi thesis of the German and Nordic faith has, in fact, called forth efforts on the part of Catholics to prove the contributions of Christianity to German history and German life. Nor has non-Catholic scholarship in that country suffered as yet to such an extent as to warrant the pessimism indicated in some places relative to the change of editorship of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller, the new editor, is not likely to prostitute his magnificent talents and intellectual honesty in support of the creed of Rosenberg and other Nazi protagonists. Below are given a few of the recent products of German historical research that seem deserving of recognition:

1. All of the publications of the Görres-Gesellschaft, namely, the *Historisches Jahrbuch* and the many volumes of the society, some of which are of a high caliber, *i. e.*, the series *Spanische Forschungen*.
2. *Neues Archiv*. While not published under Catholic auspices, its field is nevertheless entirely Catholic.

3. *Volk und Volkstum: Jahrbuch fuer Volkskunde.* Vols. I and II are published; contains many studies on the historical relationship between religion and nationality. Edited by Georg Schreiber.

4. *Forschungen zur Volkskunde.* Mostly products of Schreiber's seminar.

5. *Mitteillungen des oesterr. Instituts fuer Geschichtsforschung.* Contains much Catholic subject matter.

6. The new *Deutsches Archiv fuer Geschichte des Mittelalters.* The names of the editors lead one to expect serious work.

7. P. F. Kehr and A. Brackmann, *Regista Pontificum: Germania Pontificia.* Vol. III (1935).

8. P. F. Kehr, *M. G. H.: Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum,* I (1934).

9. E. Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne* (1934).

10. A. Zimmermann, *Kalendarium Benedictinum,* I, II. Exhaustive and critical; bibliographies especially important, as also the introductory chapters on monastic martyrologies and on the Regula of St. Benedict.

11. H. Guenther, *Deutsche Kultur* (1932). Splendid synthesis of the interrelationship between Catholicism and national German "Kultur."

12. H. Guenther, *Das deutsche Mittelalter* (1936). Vol. XII of Herder's *Geschichte der fuehrenden Völker.*

13. A. Stonner, *Heilige der deutschen Frühzeit,* I, II (1934-1936). Biographies of saints, based on sources. Much work is being done in German hagiography to counteract the resurrection of the German heroes of the pagan past. Some of this work is scholarly, some is of popular nature, as, for instance, the Maria Laach series, *Heiliges Reich: Die deutschen Heiligen in Geschichte, Legende, Liturgie und Kunst.*

14. L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter* (1936). Presents a mass of data to prove the thesis of a close relationship of the medieval German with his Church.

15. G. Pfeilschifter, *Korrespondenz des Fürstabtes Martin II. Gerbert von St. Blasien,* I, II (1931-1934). The 1200 and more letters throw light on what is mostly a dark age in the history of the Church.

16. Valuable matter is also to be found in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktiner-Ordens, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens,* the *Ergänzungschriften, Stimmen der Zeit,* the *Revue Bénédictine, Archives de la France Monastique,* etc.

Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, has several recent publications of historical interest: The growing bibliography on mediaeval women has a welcome addition in Liane von Gentzkow, *Königliche Frauen der Wanderungszeit und des frühen Mittelalters* (118 pages). Religious prac-

tices among the people of mediaeval Germany are pictured in Andreas Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter,* (276 pages, 12 plates). Volume IV of Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* has as its title *Die religiösen Kräfte.* In *Tirol 1809,* Friedrich von Minkus pictures Tyrol's struggle for freedom under Andreas Hofer, Speckbacher, P. Haspinger, etc., (124 pages). A German translation *Der hl. Karl Borromäus* from the Italian original of Cesare Orsenigo, papal nuncio at Berlin, is announced.

Three important regional church histories are reviewed by K. Bihlmeyer in *Theologische Quartalschrift,* 1937, i, 103-107: Theodor Schwegler, O. S. B., *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche der Schweiz* (Schlieren-Zürich, Verlag Neue Brücke, 1935); Ernst Tomek, *Kirchengeschichte Oesterreichs*: Erster Teil, *Altertum u. Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, Tyrolia); Karl Weller, *Württembergische Kirchengeschichte bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit* (Stuttgart, Calwer Verlagsverein, 1936). Another local history is: Walter Gunzert, *Das Hagenauer Kirchenleben im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Frankfurt a. M., Moritz Diesterweg, 1936). The city of Hagenau did not go over to Protestantism.

With volume 50 the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* the periodical organ of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica,* ceased publication. It has been replaced by the *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters,* edited by K. Brandi, W. Engel, and W. Holtzmann, and published at Weimar by H. Böhlau. The first number appeared in 1937. The widened scope of the new periodical is outlined by W. Engel, "Deutsches Mittelalter, Aufgabe und Wege seiner Erforschung" (pp. 3-10). K. Brandi contributes an article that lays the foundation for a study of epigraphy in Germany to the Renaissance (pp. 11-43). H. W. Klewitz shows that the work of the chancery was taken care of by the *capella* until the twelfth century (pp. 44-79). Among the several other important articles, F. Weigle treats the letters of Bishop Ratherius of Verona from the viewpoint of manuscript tradition, chronology, and style (pp. 147-194).

Relations between the Nazi government and the Catholic Church, both as an organism in Germany and as centered in the Holy See, continue to be very much strained. The position of the German government in attempting to establish a national cultus was exposed by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With deep anxiety"), issued March 14, 1937. The creation of a new theology using Christian terms was condemned roundly, as well as the movement of Nazi leaders to gain complete control of the youth through education. The word "revelation," for "the 'suggestions' of race and blood, for the irradiations of a people's history," as the encyclical pointed out, "is mere equivocation." Referring

to the word "immortality," the Pope declared, "Whoever only means by the term, the collective survival here on earth of his people for an indefinite length of time, distorts one of the fundamental notions of the Christian Faith and tampers with the very foundations of the religious concept of the universe, which requires a moral order." Addressing himself to the youth of Germany, Pius XI continued: "No one would think of preventing young Germans establishing a true ethnical community in a noble love of freedom and loyalty to their country. What we object to is the voluntary and systematic antagonism raised between national education and religious duty."

These pronouncements, supporting in substance also the resistance of Protestants to State control of Church matters, came as a decisive answer to the statement of the Reich Church Minister: "National Socialism consists of doing the will of God. The will of God is revealed in German blood. This will of God is the nation. It is the business of the Church to support the State so that this will of God may be fulfilled. True Christianity is represented by the National Socialist Party, and the German people are summoned to true Christianity by the party and more especially by the Fuehrer."

In his May Day address to German labor, Hitler reinforced his position by defying independent religious bodies, especially the Catholic Church, and affirmed: "I will not tolerate that the German people's authority shall be menaced from any quarter. That holds good above all for the Churches." In particular he stressed the determination of the National Socialist Party to mold the culture of youth, which has been the fundamental issue with the Catholic Church. The Pope's pronouncements seem to indicate that the Church in Germany, as well as Christianity in general, is fighting against tremendous odds, in spite of the guarantee of a Concordat; and threats have been made for the issuance of a White Book by the Vatican to sustain its claims of violation by the Nazi régime.

Besides enacting various laws against religious schools, the government has waged a ceaseless campaign of attack by "exposing" immorality existing in the religious orders, thus attempting to discredit the whole system. Statistics from the state of Prussia indicate how much the Church has at stake. In this state alone, 1,612,000 school children out of 1,737,000 Catholics of school age were in 8,698 Catholic grammar schools. In other parts of the country 506,000 to 700,000 were in Catholic schools. Coincident with the attack on these schools and the closing of Catholic seminaries, official encouragement has been given to the formation of a national "German Catholic" Church.

On May 18, Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago denounced the Nazi trials of members of the religious orders as "anti-Catholic propaganda" and singled out Hitler and Goebbels as the leaders of a dictatorial régime

keeping the nation in a state of servitude. Pressed for an explanation, the Vatican refused to assume responsibility or express its disapproval. In the meantime, the *Osservatore Romano* reported that eighteen Catholic printing presses had been suppressed by the German State police for printing the Pope's Easter Encyclical. Shortly thereafter Minister of Propaganda Goebbels launched a vicious verbal attack against the Church and threatened reprisals on a larger scale unless criticism of the government's policies were stopped.

Band 3 of the Geisteswissenschaftlichen Reihe (Schriften der Albertus-Universität) is *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts,* by Dr. Borwin Rusch (Ost-Europa-Verlag, Königsberg und Berlin).

A Cardinal of the Medici, by Mrs. Hicks Beach, is a history, in semi-fictional form, of the life and surroundings of Cardinal Ippolito (Cambridge University Press). The same press has published *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland,* by Prof. G. A. Henderson.

The Pope in Politics, by William Teeling, presents a survey of the political policy of Pius XI (Lovat Dickson).

Although the number of American priests who can be familiarly called "Camposantiner" is few, many who never lived in the German Campo Santo in Rome, knew its venerable chief, Monsignor Anton de Waal who passed away in 1917. Recently there has been published a *Lebensgeschichte* (Bandenia Verlag, Karlsruhe, 1937, pp. 192), with many interesting photographs of the high points in his career. Among those whose names are connected with Campo Santo, while pursuing higher studies in Rome, are: Wilpert, Baumgarten, Kirsch, Franz Doelger, Cardinal Piffl, Bishop Thomas H. Reverman (the present Ordinary of Superior), Ludwig von Pastor, Janssen, Denifle, Brom, Baumstark, Cauchie, Guilday, and the late Rector of the Catholic University of America, Bishop Thomas Joseph Shahan.

Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, announces the publication of *Die Katakomben von Neapel,* by Hans Achelis. The volume, in folio, with xi and 101 pages of text and 60 plates, is bound in buckram and priced at 250 marks. The paintings in the catacombs of Naples cover a period of 900 years beginning in the second or third century of our era. Forty of these are reproduced in color.

Franciscan Architecture in England, by A. R. Martin, with a preface by Sir Charles Peers, is vol. XX. of the Publications of the Society for Franciscan Studies, and deals with both Church history and architecture (Manchester University Press).

La Trappe in England, with a foreword by Father Dominic Devas, is a description of the monastery of Stapehill in Dorset (Burns Oates).

The Reformation in England, by Dr. L. Elliott-Binns, stresses the political and economic forces involved (Duckworth).

The Warburg Institute (Thames House, London, S. W. 1), founded as a center for the studies of the humanities at a time when the universities on the Continent began to abandon their old ideal of the *universitas literarum* and became vocational training schools, announces the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* to appear four times a year beginning with its first issue of July. Contributions will be divided into three sections: a number of essays, one treatise running through several issues, and miscellaneous matter presented in the form of notes; there will be no reviews. The subscription is 30 *s.* the year.

My Way of Faith is an autobiography of Miss Maud Petre, friend and biographer of George Tyrell and a prominent figure in the Modernist movement (Dent).

Thirty-three years after Herbert Thurston, S. J., stated "that in any ten consecutive pages" of H. C. Lea's *Auricular Confessions and Indulgences* or his chapter on the causes of the Reformation in the *Cambridge Modern History* "ten palpable blunders may be unearthed," Dr. G. G. Coulton proposed to Fr. Thurston twelve pages, chosen by a third party, of vol. I of *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, defying him "to find even a single patent blunder in all these twelve pages." Fr. Thurston rises to the challenge and in "Dr. Coulton and Dr. H. C. Lea: A Challenge and Its Sequel," *Month*, January and February, finds and discusses fifteen blunders.

The Irish Historical Society of Canada has been organized at Ottawa, with Dr. James F. Kenney as first president.

The *Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1935-1936*, prints, in addition to the proceedings and the reports of the secretary and treasurer, the following papers: Edward Cannon, 1739-1814, by Robert Cannon, K. C.; the Right Rev. William Fraser, Second Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, First Bishop of Halifax and of Arichat, by the Rev. A. A. Johnston; Early Catholic Journalism in Canada, by P. F. Cronin; the Irish Emigration of 1847 and its Canadian Consequences, by the Rev. John A. Gallagher, C. SS. R.; and Vital Justin Grandin, O. M. I., First Bishop of St. Albert, Alberta, 1829-1902, by the Rev. Bro. Memoriam, F. S. C.

The *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen*

of Scots, vol. XI, edited by Anne I. Cameron, has been published by H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

Dr. Edmund Curtis, professor of modern history, University of Dublin, has written a *History of Ireland*, a broad survey from the founding of the monarchy of Tara to the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922 (Van Nostrand, New York).

Historical articles in *Studies* for March include: Catalonia and the Spanish Civil War, by E. Allison Peers; History of Carlism in Spain, by A. A. Parker; and Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars, by the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S. J. The June issue prints an article on Stephen MacKenna and Plotinus, by John Murray, S. J.; and the second part of A. A. Parker's History and Policy of Carlism.

Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, 1791-1798, vol. I, by Leo McCabe, is a study of the viewpoint of the bishops who opposed the activities of the United Irishmen and sought to keep the influence of the French Revolution out of Ireland (Heath Cranton).

Of the greatest significance has been the new draft constitution proposed to Ireland by President de Valera. In notable distinction to the constitution of Spain, it enunciates the Christian character of the nation in no mistakable terms and bases its high idealism on the express principle that genuine authority is derived from God. The preamble begins with the words: "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority and to Whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and States must be referred, we the people of Éire, humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial. . . ."

In the first article, the Irish nation "affirms its inalienable, indefeasible, and sovereign right to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic, and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions." The name of the State is declared to be Éire, and its character, "sovereign, independent, democratic." Irish is stated to be the first official language; English, the second.

The territorial extent of the State is asserted to be "the whole of Ireland, its islands and territorial seas." Pending the re-integration of the national territory, the laws of the Parliament are to extend to the area of the Free State, or Saorstát Eireann, and to have like extra-territorial effect. While Northern Nationalist members of the Parliament representing the Catholic minority are pleased with this serious notice of the partition, the Unionist Cabinet has failed to be attracted by the idea of re-integration. "The idea of Ireland as a separate entity," according

to J. Milne Barbour, Minister of Commerce, "does not appeal to us. We infinitely prefer our position as citizens of the United Kingdom."

The special position of the Roman Catholic Church is recognized "as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens." At the same time the State recognizes the other religious denominations existing in Ireland from the effective operation of the Constitution, including the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, and the Religious Society of Friends, which are specifically mentioned in the document, besides the Jewish congregations. Freedom of conscience and of religious profession and practice are guaranteed "subject to public order and morality," without discrimination. Although the State guarantees not to endow any religion, State aid may be granted to schools under the management of different religious denominations, without prejudice to State or private schools or to the right of children to attend schools receiving public money without attending religious instruction at those institutions. The right of religious bodies to manage their own affairs, to own, acquire, and administer their own properties is also recognized.

The Christian and Catholic character of the constitution is further evidenced in its recognition of the family as the "natural and primary fundamental unit group of Society and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law." This includes corresponding guarantees for the right and duty of parents to educate their children, in the religious, moral, intellectual, physical, and social orders, according to "their conscience and lawful preference" in "their homes or in private schools or in schools recognized or established by the State." Certain minimum standards, however, are required.

The special place and importance of women in the home is evaluated, and the State pledges itself to ensure that "mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labor to the neglect of their duties in the home." Special guards are placed around the institution of marriage in accord with Catholic principles. To this effect, "no law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage." Persons divorced under the civil laws of other States are declared incapable of contracting in Éire a valid marriage during the lifetime of the party to the marriage so dissolved.

Although these provisions have met the universal approbation of Catholics, considerable difference of opinion has been expressed over the powers and privileges with which the constitution endows the president. These include the right to name the prime minister, to summon and dissolve the Dail Eireann or Lower House, and to commute and pardon sentences determined by any court of the land. He is also to be in su-

preme command of all defense forces. Most important of all, he is not to be answerable to either House or his actions, although he is impeachable. His tenure of office is seven years.

The leader of the opposition, former President William T. Cosgrove, maintains that these presidential powers represent a constant and grave prejudice to the freedom of the people and the voice of Parliament. According to *The Irish Independent,* "By his new Constitution, Mr. de Valera proposes to give the new President powers which neither the King nor the Governor General ever claimed over the Dominion." De Valera has admitted that these powers are great, but he answers that their proper use "will provide a safeguard for the Constitution itself and protection for the people against legislation contrary to the public interest." Referring to a possible deadlock between the president and the government, he maintains, "There is always at hand competent authority to decide definitely every question that could arise. In all cases the people are constitutionally the ultimate masters; and the main function of the President is to see that their mastery is preserved, and that not merely at election times but at all times." The Irish Labor Party through its official organ, *The Labor News,* however, sees no general interest or enthusiasm in the mass of the people for the document and declares that the powers it delivers into the hand of the chief of State are "an obvious preparation for dictatorship."

Bulletin No. 13 of the *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States and Canada* has been issued by Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado. Dr. Thomson in a short preface pays a well-merited tribute to his predecessor, the late James Field Willard: "The debt American mediaevalists owe him for the impulse he gave to the spirit of coöperation and mutual helpfulness among workers in this field cannot be measured." This latest Bulletin contains a list of papers read at meetings of learned societies, books in press, a list of medievalists and their publications, a list of doctoral dissertations in the field, and a number of obituary notices.

Under the auspices of the Catholic Library Service (382 Robert Street, St. Paul, Minn.), Edward P. Willging, Librarian of St. Thomas College, Scranton, Penna., has recently published a unique brochure—*The Index to American Catholic Pamphlets* (pp. 128, price $1.25). The *Index* contains 1500 titles divided into sixteen sections—Philosophy, Psychology, Religion and Christianity, the Bible, the Catholic Church, Doctrinal Theology, Liturgy, Devotional Exercises, Sacraments and Sacramentals, Conduct of Life, Missions, Religious Orders, Protestant Churches, Sociology, Education, Literature, Moving Pictures, the Radio and Biography. Whenever necessary, a short explanation of the pamphlet in question is given. The purpose of the brochure is "to provide as complete a guide as

possible to the American Catholic pamphlets in print January 1, 1937." An alphabetical index makes it easy to find the classified items. This is a *vade-mecum* no one should be without.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* prints Paul V. Murray's winning essay in the intercollegiate contest sponsored by the Society, the Church and the First Mexican Republic, 1822-1830; the History of the Kapiolani Home, Honolulu, T. H., by Mary E. Martin, awarded the fourth prize in the contest; and God and Country, an essay submitted for the contest by Joseph P. Carroll, Jr.

Articles in the April number of *Mid-America* concern Jean Baptiste Point du Saible, the First Chicagoan, by Thomas A. Meehan; and Jesuit Travel to New Spain (1678-1756), by Theodore E. Treutlein.

Part IV of the *Historical Bulletin's* symposium on the papacy appears in its May issue: Gerald G. Walsh writes of Boniface the Eighth; Augustine C. Wand of Innocent the Eleventh; Gerald Ellard discusses Great Popes and the Liturgy; and Laurence K. Patterson continues his account of the Papacy and the Unification of Italy. In addition, B. J. Kohlbrenner contributes an article on the Value of Stories in Teaching History; and there is an index to the first fifteen volumes of the *Bulletin*.

The eighteenth volume of the publications of the Institut Français de Washington (Historical Documents, cahier X) is *Le Voyage de Lapérouse sur les côtes de l'Alaska et de la Californie (1786)*, with introduction and notes by Professor Gilbert Chinard. The Institut has in press the *Despatches and Instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gérard (1778-1780)*, being the correspondence of the first French minister to the United States with the Comte de Vergennes, edited with an introduction by Dr. John J. Meng, of the Catholic University of America.

Vol. IX of the *History of the State of New York* (edited by Alexander C. Flick) has as its subtitle, *Mind and Spirit*. The Rev. Dr. Frederick J. Zwierlein, professor of Church History at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, contributes the chapter on the Catholic Church in New York State (pp. 167-202) under the following topics: Religious test, Confessional seal, internal strife, No Popery, trusteeism and school controversy, Native Americanism and its results, religion in public institutions, the Civil War, Christian free schools, freedom of worship, land and labor agitation, last things. A selected bibliography is appended.

The March issue of the *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society* prints an article on the Three Hundredth Anniversary of Marquette's Birth; and a paper on Chicago from 1673 to 1725 which was prepared for and sent to the Chicago Historical Society in 1861 by John Gilmary Shea.

The Most Reverend Paul C. Schulte, pastor of the Old Cathedral, St. Louis, who has been named bishop of Leavenworth, Kansas, is the author of *The Catholic Heritage of St. Louis.*

The Rev. Francis J. Epstein, P. R., pastor of St. Michael's parish, Wheaton, Ill., has published under the title, *Decet Meminisse Fratrum,* a necrology and record of the priests of the archdiocese of Chicago, 1844-1937.

On June 1, Prairie du Chien, Wis., celebrated the 300th aniversary of the birth of Father Marquette, the pioneer Jesuit missionary. Laon, France, the birthplace of Marquette, observed the tercentenary on the same date.

Peter L. Scanlan, M. D., has written a timely volume on *Prairie du Chien: French, British, American* (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Co., pp. 258).

The United States Northwest Territory Celebration Commission is offering a prize of $1000 for the best manuscript (to make a book of approximately 325-450 pages) covering the history of the Ordinance of 1787 and its effect upon the development of government. The contest will close June 1, 1938, when all manuscripts are to be in the hands of the commission at its offices in Marietta, Ohio.

The *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for April prints a Survey of Seattle Church Archives, made by the Historical Records Survey, a federal WPA project, in which the parish records of 26 Catholic churches are listed and described.

A number of incidents seem to indicate the development of a more moderate, although far from satisfactory, policy on the part of the Mexican Government towards the Catholic Church. In the state of Vera Cruz, large bands of citizens stormed several churches, securing their reopening for worship. Similar results were secured in other states, as in Sonora, where the cathedral of Hermosillo, which had been closed for three years, was reopened on orders from Gov. Roman Yocupicio. Cardenas indicated that this policy of conciliation would be continued. The reopening of churches, however, does not mean the reinstatement of the clergy. Most of these places are still without priests. An important legal victory was gained when the supreme court invalidated a state law of Chihuahua, which permitted only one priest to officiate in the entire state. In granting a permanent injunction dating from May 5, against this law, the court established the principle that state governments must henceforth take into account the spiritual needs of the Catholic population in regulating the number of priests.

The educational situation remained bad, from the Catholic point of

view, inasmuch as the government, without relenting on its Socialistic program in the schools to the exclusion of Catholic or religious teaching in the primary schools, has indicated its intention of extending this cultural monopoly to secondary institutions. The only recourse for Catholics, who are seriously concerned in the Christian education of their children, is the establishment of private secret schools, which are illegal.

In his Apostolic Letter *Nos es muy conocida,* dated March 28, Pope Pius XI declared: "Two grave precepts are imposed on all Catholic Mexicans: the one negative, that is, to keep the children as far away as possible from the impious and corruptive school; the other positive, to give them complete and accurate religious instruction and the necessary assistance to maintain their spiritual life." Without specifying the means, he indicated that this must be a primary objective of Catholic Action.

At the same time, he took note of the economic situation in that country: "Facing the frequent accusations made against the Church," he stated, "that it is indifferent to social problems, or incapable of solving them, do not desist from proclaiming that only the teaching and the work of the Church, assisted as it is by its Divine Founder, can furnish a remedy for the very grave ills which burden humanity. It is for you then (as you have already shown your wish to do) to draw from these fruitful principles the certain norms to solve the grave social questions with which your country is struggling today, which are, for example, the agrarian problem, the reduction of the *latifundia* (large landed estates), the improvement of the living conditions of the working men and their families."

Referring to the means of resistance used by Mexican Catholics against unjust repressive measures, the Pope recalled the moral principle of the *duplex effectus,* and gave warning that this type of civil activity did not come within the task of the clergy or of Catholic Action as such.

Of outstanding importance in the annals of the Mexican Church was the appointment, of the Most Reverend Luis M. Martinez to the Metropolitan See of Mexico. Since 1925 he had been Apostolic Administrator of Morelia, in the state of Michoacan, formerly governed by the actual president of Mexico, Lazaro Cardenas. His thorough knowledge of the country and his freedom from the disputes that have involved most bitterly the relations of Church and State since the *modus vivendi* of 1929 seem to make his choice a most happy and promising one.

Documents. La lettre de Simon de Brion en faveur des Mendiants (1268) et le soi-disant Concile provincial de Reims (1267), cont. by Hugolin Lippens, O. F. M. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* January-April); Fr. Petri Joannis Olivi, O. F. M., tria scripta sui ipsius apologetica annorum 1283 et 1285 (continued), Damascus Laberge, O. F. M.

(*ibid.*); S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus, cont. by Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M. (*ibid.*); Notes sur P. Georges de S. Marie Sersanders, dit de Luna, militaire-franciscain-missionaire (XVII siècle), cont. by Anastase Van den Wyngaert, O. F. M. (*ibid.*); Report to Lord Durham on Lower Canada (*Canadian Historical Review*, March) [much about the Church, O'Callaghan, etc.]; An Arrouasian General Chapter, H. E. Salter (*English Historical Review*, April); La Salle's Jesuit Days, Gilbert J. Garraghan (*Mid-America*, April); M. Le Maire on Louisiana, Jean Delanglez (*ibid.*); Some Recently Found Poems on the Calverts, Walter B. Norris (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, June); Letter of Father F. J. Bonduel, Prairie du Chien, Aug. 24, 1844, to Editor of *Catholic Telegraph* (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March); Letters to Bishop Henni, Peter L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, April); Letters of Rev. Joseph Kundek, missionary at Jasper, Ind., to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Vienna (1842-1843) (*St. Meinrad Historical Essays*, IV, no. 2); Manuscript Hispanic Americana in the Harvard College Library, Roland D. Hussey (*Hispanic-American Historical Review*, May); A Rome sous Pie IX (continued), Victor Postel (*Correspondant*, April).

Anniversaries. 25th: Founding in America of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament; *Our Sunday Visitor*; church of Our Lady of Esperanza, New York City (*Catholic News*, Mar. 27); St. Florian's, Milwaukee, Wis.; St. Mary's, Fullerton, Calif. (Los Angeles *Tidings*, June 4). *50th*: diocese of Lincoln, Neb.; diocese of Wichita, Kan.; diocese of Concordia, Kan.; Villa Maria Academy, New York City; St. Veronica's, New York City (*Catholic News*, May 8, 15); Misercordia Hospital, New York City; College of Our Lady of Good counsel, White Plains, N. Y.; St. Kieran's, Pittsburgh, Pa. (*Pittsburgh Catholic*, May 6; history by Sr. Teresa Kernan); St. Joseph's, Bloomsfield, Pittsburgh, Pa. (*Pittsburgh Catholic*, Apr. 29); St. Anthony's, Wichita, Kan. (*Catholic Advance*, May 1, 8); St. Charles, San Francisco (*Monitor*, Apr. 17); Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.; Christ Child Society; Monastery of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge, Dublin, Ire.; first mass at site of Johannesburg, Transvaal. *75th*: St. John Chrysostom's, New Boston, Ind. (*Indiana Catholic and Record*, June 11); parish of St. John the Baptist, St. John, Wis. (*Catholic Herald-Citizen*, May 29); St. Benedict's, Honaunau, Hawaii. *100th*: St. Michael's, Madison, Ind. (*Indiana Catholic and Record*, May 7); parish of St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind. (*Souvenir* by Rev. Dr. Fintan Walker); St. Joseph's, Jasper, Ind. (*Indiana Catholic and Record*, May 14); St. Paul's, New Alsace, Ind. (*ibid.*, May 21); SS. Peter and Paul, Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.; archdiocese of Dubuque, Iowa; diocese of Natchez, Miss.; foundation of Church in New Zealand. *125th*: seminary of St. Hyacinthe, Canada. *200th*: birth of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

BRIEF NOTICES

ABEL, THEODORE, *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants.* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933, pp. xi, 143, $1.00.) Catholics as a rule are quite ignorant of the fact that for more than fifty years efforts have been made by Protestant Churches to proselyte immigrants from so-called Catholic countries. This scholarly monograph traces these efforts from their genesis to the present day and prognosticates their future. The terms and limits of the work are clearly stated and defined in the beginning; the objectives proposed are pursued clearly and unswervingly; the style is pleasing, readable and objective; the case is stated without prejudice. The work is divided unevenly into two parts, the first containing five chapters and the second one chapter—the story of an immigrant minister which is superimposed and not unified with the rest of the book. The conclusions are based on laboriously collected and carefully sifted data gathered from interviews with mission workers and members, schedules of the constitutions and composition of the centers, observation of the activities at various centers, reviews of the available literature and reports on the subject, and, finally, a prize contest for the best-written life-history by mission workers and converts. The main conclusion is that proselytizing activity of the Protestant Churches in this connection has been all but a total failure. In more detail the study shows: 1. That the evangelization of Catholic immigrants was undertaken by Protestants to Americanize immigrants, a result of the mistaken supposition that American principles of liberty are exclusively Protestant both in origin and application. 2. That three approaches were used in the work: a religious, through the direct preaching of the Gospel, a relief program to make contacts, and a social program likewise to attract indirectly to religion. 3. That over $150,000,000 has been spent in a period of about fifty years with the chief result that in many places Catholic immigrants understand Protestantism better, with the result that religious bigotry on both sides has been somewhat allayed. 4. The failure of the work is attributable to many factors among which are: loyalty to Catholic principles, lack of training in the ministers, and the fact that the chief concern of immigrants is economic not religious. 5. Only a small, limited number of converts can be expected in the future and those among Catholics who are dissatisfied with their Church, not on doctrinal, but on factional grounds. The whole study makes one wonder why the barren efforts were continued so long. (J. W. RUANE.)

Actes de S. S. Pie XI, Encycliques, Motu proprio, Brefs, Allocutions, Actes des Dicastères, etc. Texte latin avec traduction française, Tome VII (Année, 1931). (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1936, pp. 427.) This is the seventh volume of the Acts of Pope Pius XI. In earlier volumes in the same collection are found the Acts of Popes Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV. The present work is divided into two parts: the first contains the encyclicals,

etc., of the Pope; the second contains various decrees and instructions of the Sacred Congregations. The book concludes with three responses of the Pontifical Commission for the Interpretation of the Code. Important Papal documents are contained in this volume, such as *Quadragesimo anno* and *Deus scientiarum Dominus*. The original language of the Papal Acts is printed on the upper half of the page; the lower half contains a French translation where necessary. All these Acts of the Pope and the Congregations are of the year 1931. In the Acts of the Congregations are found the instruction of the Congregation of Religious concerning the examination of clerics; and the decree of the Congregation of the Council on the wearing of the cassock by clerics. Canonists will find in the responses of the Pontifical Commission of July 25, 1931, a solution to some difficulties in regard to the form of marriage. The book is a handy volume. It is well-printed and easy to read. There is a frontispiece: a picture of Pope Pius XI after a medallion in the Basilica of St. Paul's outside the walls. (E. G. R.)

BOYNE, DON, *I Remember Maynooth*. (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1937, pp. xi, 132, $2.00.) These essays recalling the author's student days at Maynooth, Ireland's famed seminary, are written with humor and grace. They present intimate glimpses into an ecclesiastical student's life. The rule by which that life is governed, the spirit that animates and permeates it, these are clearly manifested. The book catches the air of spirituality without which no seminary is worthy of the name. With a touch of nostalgia, the author once more in spirit wanders in familiar places. His description of the rising bell is truly masterful. This is a book to be enjoyed by every seminarian and priest, and but little less by the laity. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

BRODERICK, SISTER MARY JOHN, O. S. F., *Catholic Schools in England*. (Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1936, pp. xi, 187.) In the United States, where conditions are very similar to those existing in England and where Catholics are more numerous than in England, the Catholic school system receives no aid whatsoever from the Government. In England, however, the State contributes to the support of the Catholic elementary schools. This arrangement is the result of great sacrifices and a long struggle on the part of English Catholics. Sister Mary John relates the background and the facts of this struggle in a dissertation which is a valuable contribution to the study of comparative education. The situation in England, however, is far from perfect. English Catholics still stagger under the heavy burden of providing school buildings. Moreover, English Catholics are forced to protect themselves against political groups which would have the State control, as well as aid, the Catholic Schools and against the Liberals who seek complete secularization of all schools. The author of this work concludes optimistically, however, that "basically English education is Christian in principle and, that even in the face of the present movement to make the schools neutral, there is strong hope that the Christian principles underlying the Englishman's philosophy of life will dominate and that the Christian attitude of respect for the rights of others in things educational will preserve the Catholic schools for the Catholic child" (p. 162). (J. H. KENNEDY).

BURNS, JAMES J., Ph. D., *The Colonial Agents of New England.* (Washington, Catholic University of America. 1935, pp. v, 157.) Dr. Burns' dissertation, prepared at The Catholic University of America, will demand the attention of specialists in the colonial field of United States history. The present study is an erudite and commendable exposition of that institution which was of significant, even though ultimately ineffective, importance in the development of the relationships between the colonies and England. Dr. Burns' contribution on the New England agencies is rendered more valuable by an institutional, rather than a chronological treatment. The author's emphasis is upon the multifarious political and economic activities in England, undertaken by the colonial representatives in defense of their constituents: approval of legislation, boundary controversies, bounties, charter protection and wartime grants. The author's treatment of the agents during the "Pre-Revolutionary Decade" is of particular importance because this period portrays the climax of the agents' solicitations. The coöperation and assistance given by English commercial groups to the agents is herein summarized and it is to be hoped that the author will further develop this subject at some future time. The abundance of the printed sources and materials, upon which the monograph is based, have been critically and judiciously employed by the author. Additional details, which, however, would not have altered the interpretations of this work, might have been secured from the use of additional manuscripts such as the Foreign Correspondence with the Colonial Agents, 1661-1732, Connecticut Archives. Albert Smyth's edition of Franklin's *Writings* is more reliable than Sparks'. A slight error concerning Robert Charles (p. 115) is continued from the original mistake made by the editor of "The Letters of Charles Garth." An appendix, listing all the New England agents by colony and date, a critical bibliography and an index are mechanical perfections of this fine monograph. (EDWARD P. LILLY.)

CARRINGTON, C. E., M. A., and JACKSON, J. HAMPDEN, M. A., *A History of England.* (Cambridge, The University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936, pp. xviii, 803.) This is the third edition of a manual intended for English public and secondary schools. The story has been carried forward to the beginning of 1936, and a fuller account of the labor movement of the past century added. The first edition was reviewed in the April, 1934, number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, pp. 92-93. Some of the minor errors there noted have been corrected, *e. g.*, the confusion of King Stephen with Stephen of Blois; but the major deficiencies of the work remain unchanged. The Catholic reader will continue to be annoyed at most of the treatment of Church history, especially that of the English Reformation. The English schoolboy will find much to encourage his patriotism, and little that might diminish it. The pedagogical devices, which drew praise from the last reviewer, remain in the present edition. The book continues to be an excellent source of British points-of-view, but as a text-book quite unsuited to American schools. (HAROLD J. BOLTON.)

COSTER, CHARLES HENRY, *The Iudicium Quinquevirale.* (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America [Monograph No. 10], 1935, pp. viii, 87, $2.25.) The *iudicium quinquevirale* was a special court created by the

emperor Gratian (*Codex Theodosianus* 9, 1, 13, A. D. 376) to deal with the punishment of senators found guilty of a capital charge. This tribunal evidently existed from Gratian to Theodoric, although we have few allusions in our sources that can definitely be considered as referring to its activity. It is of much interest, because it reflects the continued political and social prestige of the Senate and the conciliatory policy of certain Late Emperors toward the latter, and also because a knowledge of its working possibly sheds some light on the trial and condemnation of Boethius. Mommsen, Lécrivain, and Bury, among others, have dealt with the *iudicium quinquevirale* to some extent, but a formal detailed study of it remained to be made.

Mr. Coster has attempted such a study in the present monograph. On the whole, his attempt has been successful, although his work is not free from some disquieting faults, as the following concrete examples will make clear. In the Preface, p. v, and again, *e. g.*, on p. 26, he speaks of the *iudicium quinquevirale* as dealing with serious accusations against senators. The essential purpose of this tribunal, as is clearly stated in *Cod. Theod.* 9, 1, 13, was, however, not to deal with accusations as such, but rather to fix the penalty to be imposed on senators already convicted of a capital crime by other tribunals. There are slips in the translation of the law of *Cod. Theod.* just mentioned (p. 3): *Provincialis iudex* should not be rendered "Provincial governor," but "provincial judge"; for *maximo* l. 13 read *maxime*; the words *administratorum honore functis* do not mean "who have filled them (*sc.* administrative offices) with honor in the past," but simply "who have filled administrative offices." Why Mr. Coster (p. 8) had difficulty with Lécrivain's reference to Georgius Monachus is hard to see, as the reference is exact and according to the normal form of citing such sources. He is right, however, in his view that Lécrivain was referring to the trial of Theodore Santabarenus. But I think he would have argued somewhat differently, had he consulted Georgius Monachus in the Bonn edition (p. 850) and not in Migne *P. G.* 110, col. 1089 ff. In the Bonn text there is question of a commission of five judges, and not of four. The Migne text of Georgius Monachus is a reprint of Muralt's edition (St. Petersburg, 1859) which is based on a late and modified form of the original text and is therefore quite untrustworthy. The statement (p. 10, l. 8-10) that "the only class having sufficient education to administer it (*sc.* the later Empire) was the great landed aristocracy, the members of the senatorial order, the *viri clarissimi*," needs more modification than it receives in the following sentences—at least so far as the fourth and fifth centuries are concerned. Through ignorance of the legal force of the word *supplicatio* in the Late Empire Mr. Coster commits a gross error (p. 29) when in a passage cited from Symmachus he takes *supplicatio* in the sense of the old religious *supplicationes* of Caesar and Livy. Symmachus is, of course, using the word in the meaning of "plea" or "petition." See *e. g.* Heumann-Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, *s. v.*, and von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der römische Civilprozess*, p. 338 ff. That the author could make such a blunder indicates an insufficient acquaintance with the religious history of the late fourth century. Throughout his book Mr. Coster is consistent in his curious error of employing *Anonymous Valesianus* for *Anonymus Valesianus*.

(MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.)

DU PLESSIS, LE COMTE J., *La Caravane Humaine.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1932, pp. 404.) This work, the fruit of fifty years of study and meditation, presents an original and enlightening concept of history and its meaning. According to the author, a distinguished Catholic scholar, history is the agglomeration of myriads and myriads of human acts, the majority of which remain unknown and whose intimate and complex relationships are but partly apparent. Certain laws, such as "la loi de continuité cyclique," "la loi d'organisation politique," and "la loi d'accélération" are in constant operation and bring about events which impose themselves on the attention of men and peoples at different epochs. No one disputes the authenticity of these events but the interpretation of their causes and consequences vary widely. The "factual" approach ordinarily employed in the explanation of these events usually results in confusion because of the immensity and complexity of the task. A "panoramic" approach, on the other hand, reveals the workings of the laws mentioned above and also the general outlines of a plan which humanity seems to be following in its march through Time. Adopting this method, the author passes in review the different stages of man's progress through history, and shows the Human Caravan proceeding toward a definite end. Otherwise, history would be unintelligible; it would be a series of recurring transformations and dislocations with man the victim of imponderable forces. The Human Caravan is slowly marching towards a perfect society—a Divine End. The world already possesses in essence such a society in the Roman Catholic Church, an institution at once human and divine and the only one whose transcendancy is attested by its unity, universality, apostolic origin, and permanency. The character of the Church and its rôle in history are as many reasons to believe in its divine mission. Without Christ and the Church, history has no meaning. These ideas are representative of many others to be found in this truly remarkable book. It is well worth reading. (BERNARD A. FACTEAU.)

GOLDSTEIN, DAVID, *Autobiography of a Campaigner for Christ.* (Boston, Catholic Campaigners for Christ, 1936, pp. 416). The sixth chapter of David Goldstein's *Autobiography* bears the title "From Marx to Christ." This might well have been the name of the book, for it gives the clue to an understanding of the entire volume, as well as to an appreciation of the author. The work of the Campaigners for Christ is, of course, well known; and nearly everyone knows that David Goldstein, a Hebrew convert, is a pioneer and leading spirit in the movement. If one has at times wondered at the success of the Campaigners in breaking down anti-Catholic prejudice, in causing persons to become more receptive to Catholic truths, in popularizing theology and apologetic, one need no longer wonder after reading Mr. Goldstein's *Autobiography.* One sees that he has gone into his work armed with sincerity, humor, and an unerring sense for propaganda and publicity. Perhaps the *Autobiography* has scant literary value. Perhaps it is lacking in the exactitude which should characterize scientific biography; yet here is a story told with zest, with an abundance of wit and a deal of wisdom. One may smile at the Jewish boy who, upon first seeing the interior of a Cathedral, was impressed only by the possessions and wealth of "these Goyim";

but one respects the man who yearns to share with all persons the spiritual treasures of the Church. One may shrink from the rough and tumble tactics of the young socialist agitator; but one admires the agitation of spirit on the part of a man who has turned his gifts toward the winning of souls and the expansion of the Kingdom of God. The *Autobiography of a Campaigner for Christ* is a significant document in the history of lay evengelism. (H. B. VINNEDGE.)

GREGORY, T. S., *The Unfinished Universe.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1936, pp. 343, $3.00.) The writer of this outstanding book was until recently a Welsh Methodist minister. He had already earned a high place amongst the realists who are changing the current of modern thought. Without meeting a single Catholic he has argued himself into the Catholic Church. The book is not easy reading at first. Its style is terse and pregnant. Until one is carried along by its absorbing theme it is necessary to read many sentences over several times. After a few chapters the startling freshness of the presentation becomes apparent. What a daring thing it is to call the modern scientist a magician! Yet how true is the identification! He is one who stands outside reality searching for some chance formula to open the door of knowledge. He is the supreme judge who measures all things by himself. For him the universe, like some immense perpetual motion machine, works on in an endless circle; it begins nowhere and ends nowhere; and, yet, a chemical, a physical, or a mathematical calculation may solve its puzzle. For the writer the supreme conflict of history has been the war between such magicians and the priests. The latter hold the only alternative cosmology that is rational. They yield to reality and live in communion with it. To them it is the great sacrament of existence. They are mediators not judges. Holding fast to efficient and final causes they are content to discover significances in their experience that they cannot wholly assimiliate. For them the universe is still incomplete, but they are working for its completion. The writer brings history as his witness. He discovers cycles in human thought as priest and magician carry on their ceaseless struggle. He interprets in the light of his thesis: Ancient Greece, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation. No one can read the book carefully without realizing that it is great. The Catholic Book Club and the publishers are to be congratulated. (EDWARD HAWKS.)

HABERKERN, E., and J. F. WALLACH, with a *Geleitwort* by Hermann Oncken, *Hilfswörterbuch für Historiker.* (Berlin-Grunewald, Verlag für Staatswissenschaften und Geschichte G. M. B. H., 1935, pp. xvi, 605, large octavo, unbound, 26 Marks—bound, 28 Marks.) The purpose of this work is to furnish students and specialists in history with a convenient and reliable dictionary of technical terms occurring in constitutional and administrative history, in certain divisions of private law, and in closely allied fields. The terminology of cultural history is excluded. As regards temporal scope, the work, according to the *Vorwort,* is intended to embrace formally the period from the Migrations of the Nations to Napoleon I. My repeated consultation of the book during the past year, however, indicates that the treatment of

the Middle Ages before the Crusades is rather sketchy and that the emphasis is on the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. As regards geographical scope, the main concentration is on Germany, her immediate neighbors and England, the treatment of the rest of Europe, European Colonies, America, Islam, China, and Japan being confined to the more important points only. The constitutional history of the aboriginal states in America and Africa has been ignored. The *Hilfswörterbuch* contains about 17,000 catchwords, of which more than a fourth head independent articles. Each word or expression is defined very succinctly but clearly. A well thought out plan of alphabetization and a liberal use of cross references adds to the ease of consultation. Within the limits noted above, the editors have performed an exceedingly valuable service to historians. Technical terms are of basic importance, and the present dictionary will enable both students and specialists in history to control unfamiliar technical words or expressions in fields more or less remote from their own with a minimum waste of time.

Realizing that neither perfection nor completeness could be attained in a first edition of a work of this sort, the editors invite constructive criticism and suggestions. This invitation should be gladly accepted, because the *Hilfswörterbuch* has already taken its place as an indispensable tool of research and its value can be increased in later editions. In this connection I should like to make the following criticisms and suggestions. It would be a great convenience if at least the more important and more difficult technical terms in cultural history could be incorporated into the *Hilfswörterbuch*. The sketchy treatment of Late Roman and Byzantine constitutional history is a defect which ought to be remedied. I was surprised, *e. g.*, to find no mention of offices and titles such as these: *praefectus praetorio, comes sacrarum largitionum, clarissimus, gloriosus*, etc. Lastly, in spite of the difficulties involved, one reference at least should be given, wherever possible, to the standard secondary work in which the information on this or that term has been found. Without such a reference it is impossible to control adequately as to place and time the meanings furnished for many words in the present edition of the *Hilfswörterbuch*. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.)

HANKE, LEWIS, Ph. D. (Ed.), *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. xv, 250.) Sixteen scholars, besides the editor, all recognized experts in their special field, coöperated generously and effectively in the production of this highly commendable volume—the first of what is planned to represent "an annual record of important publications in the various disciplines" of Hispanic American studies. It is to the generosity of The American Council of Learned Societies that we are indebted for the financial assistance which made possible the appearance of the present volume. Since a guide of this kind fills a need felt by all serious students of Hispanic American affairs, we hope that with the continued support of the afore-mentioned American Council it will be possible to publish the *Handbook* annually and, by filling in through the coöperation of additional experts the omissions referred to by the editor in his Introduction, make this valuable guide as complete and perfect as possible.

The present volume, after a brief list of general materials, covers the

following special disciplines: Anthropology and Archaeology, Economics, Geography, History, Law, and Literature. Of these, the one covering History is the most extensive and probably also the most complete. The last portion of the *Handbook* contains "A Tentative Guide to Manuscript Materials in Latin American Archives and Libraries," followed by four brief "Notes" on matters of more current and special interest. We heartily endorse the project which this first edition of the *Handbook* represents, sincerely trust it will receive the financial as well as the intellectual support it so richly deserves, and earnestly recommend this and all subsequent editions of the *Handbook* to teachers and students who seek the best and the latest in the field of Hispanic American affairs. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

HODGEN, MARGARET T., *The Doctrine of Survivals.* (London, Allenson and Co., 1935, pp. 192.) It is interesting to see how anthropology is gradually abandoning favorite theories which like barnacles have accompanied its progress during the last half century. The opening years of this century, for instance, have seen the complete collapse of the theory of unilinear cultural evolution. E. B. Tylor, whose *Primitive Culture* (1871) laid the foundation for anthropologic study in the English-speaking world, shared the evolutionist fallacy. He vigorously opposed the opinion of the "degeneracy of savagery," *i. e.*, the opinion that man has fallen from a primitive state of high culture. Tylor being a progressionist introduced the "doctrine of survivals," making use of it in his attack upon the Degenerationists. Survivals he defines as "processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried by force of habit into a new society . . . and . . . thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has evolved." Moreover, "the civilized mind bears traces of a past condition from which savages represent the least, and civilized man the greatest advance." Reigning supreme for a long time in anthropology, this concept, too, now graces the refuse heaps of anthropology. As Sapir wrote in 1916: "Survivals, if we can only be sure we really have them, are of great historical interest, as they undoubtedly reach back far into the past; through great caution in the utilization of them." Hence, we agree with the author of this book that "without that assurance (that we have an authentic case), even convinced exponents of eighteenth-century procedures must forswear their use." The author's categorical statement (page 187), "the doctrine of survivals is gone," will jar some of the camp followers who are more impressed by weighty slogans than by facts. The book is not without value for the historian as is shown by the fact that it was written under the aegis of Teggart's *Theory of History.* (ALBERT MUNTSCH.)

MACFARLAND, CHARLES STEDMAN, *Across the Years.* (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xi, 367.) This is an autobiographical account of "half a century of Christian institutional activity, forty-five years in the ministry, twenty-five of administrative and consultative service." At home Doctor Macfarland strove to preach the gospel, to aid the laboring class in obtaining just wages and proper working and living conditions, to help in molding youth, and to bring consolation and aid to the poor in spirit and to the poor in earthly goods. At home and abroad the author endeavored to

promote international peace and to procure protection for persecuted minorities. The author's life was a full but very happy one, for, looking back in a reflective mood, he writes, "I see little that I would have different, other than to eliminate my errors and transgressions." The book is written in a frank and intimate style, without any attempt to invent "detours or periphrasis to avoid the use of the first person." The author's contacts and correspondence with American and European statesmen give many interesting historical sidelights on the background of the World War and of the period of reconstruction which followed the war. (J. H. KENNEDY.)

MCMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C., *A History of Printing in the United States*, Volume II, *Middle and South Atlantic States*. (New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1936, pp. xviii, 462, $6.00.) Anything done by McMurtrie on the subject of printing in the United States is of unusual interest. But here is a volume of a set which promises to be one of his monumental works. This volume, which is the second of a set of four (and the first to be printed), will undoubtedly be of greatest general interest, for it includes the story of early printing in New York, Pennsylvania, and the eastern seaboard. While a critical review of the work must await the publication of at least the majority of the volumes, an idea of its main features may be gained from this book. The usual characteristics of McMurtrie's work are here,—the scholarly accumulation and the careful arrangement of details, the vivid style which gives life to the story, the apt illustrations, including a printing map of the United States, the excellent critical bibliography, the attractive format. This volume indicates that we shall soon have not only a worthy successor to the great work of Isiah Thomas but one possessing many unique and original features of its own. (F. A. MULLIN.)

MEIGS, PEVERIL, *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California*. (Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1935, pp. 192, $2.50.) The title of this book is somewhat misleading. One expects to find within its covers an account of the missionary history of the Friars Preachers in Baja, California, a neglected chapter in American Church History. But the denouement, on perusing the book, is a swift and (for the student of history) a sad one. Although Mr. Meigs uses the letters of Fray Luis Sales, a missionary to California, documents which were evidently unknown to Bancroft and Englehardt, they are of no importance. Mr. Meigs writes well of the Dominican mission frontier; but it is rather of the frontier and not the Dominicans of which he writes. He treats of the sites of the missions rather than of the missions and missionaries. When he does write of the missions and missionaries it is more in the nature of obiter dicta. The description of the fauna, flora, geography, climate, native races, and soil is exhaustive and probably the best treatment of its kind that any mission field has received. Hence from the geographical standpoint his work is important. The maps, bibliography and plates are splendid; the index is full and usable. (J. R. COFFEY, O. P.)

Memoir of Mother Mary Judith, Congregation of Our Lady of Sion: 1847-1932. By a Member of the Community, with a Preface by the Rev. J. P.

Arendzen, D. D. (London, Longmans, 1936, pp. xvi, 196.) Mother Mary Judith (Ellen Hodge) lived to a ripe old age of eighty-five and from 1889 until 1921 was superior at the Convent of Sion, Chepstow Villas, London. As a young girl of eighteen she was received into the Church. "I wrote to tell my parents of the step I had taken," she says, "and they wrote back to say that, under the circumstances, I could not be allowed to return to my home, and that I might therefore stay away." But shortly afterwards they relented and she returned home. "From that day forward," she writes, "they never spoke one word of reproach to me on account of my altered faith." Soon Ellen decided to enter the religious life and she was directed by one of the Oblates of St. Charles, whose founder and superior at the time was the future Cardinal Manning, to the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion, a French community brought to Bayswater by Manning who knew their founder, the celebrated convert from the Jewish faith, Father Marie-Theodore Ratisbonne of Paris. In the autumn of 1866, Ellen went to Paris with the intention of becoming a postulant in the community. Her parents came to Paris to fetch their daughter home. A violent scene occurred in the convent parlor. "In his anger and without waiting for any explanation, Mr. Hodge tore the veil from her head, trampled it underfoot and then assuaged his temper by smashing several windows in the room." Through the intervention of the English ambassador, a letter was secured from the Archbishop of Paris authorizing Mr. Hodge to take his daughter back to England, if she was being detained against her will. But the girl did not flinch and her parents returned home. Though they never became Catholics, they learned to admire the work of the Sions nuns and were generous to their schools. Six years were to be spent by Sister Judith at Grandbourg near Paris, and in 1877, she came to London where the remainder of her life was devoted to the convents and schools of Sion. Her's was a well-rounded out life of devotion to a great cause—Catholic education; and the many tributes to her memory printed in this delightfully written biography prove how widespread was her influence. The Sion nuns have four houses in Canada and one American foundation in Kansas City, Mo.

To have known Mother Judith for several years before the World War as an occasional chaplain of the Convent of Sion is a privilege the writer will always cherish as one of those imperishable memories which endear Catholic England to the heart of an American priest. (P. G.)

Morris, Richard B., *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784.* [Vol. II. American Legal Records.] (Washington, The American Historical Association, 1935, pp. vii, 777, $7.50.) This valuable research was made possible by grants to Professor Richard B. Morris from the Littleton-Griswold fund and grants by the Social Science Research Council in England. It is edited for the American Historical Association and constitutes the second volume of American Legal Records. Great credit is due Professor Morris and his efforts have received the deserved characterization of "a monumental work" by no less a legal authority than Joseph H. Beale.

The volume comprises a scholarly introduction (pp. 1-63) which gives a well documented account of the prototypes of the New York Mayor's Court beginning with the mayor's court in the medieval towns, the mayor's court of London in the eighteenth century, its English analogues, and the Dutch

prototype. The introduction contains also a detailed description of the New York Mayor's Court in the colonial period, together with its post-revolutionary history, a chapter on the Court's bench and bar, and an interesting account of the proceedings in the notable case of Rutgers *v.* Waddington. The remainder of the volume (pp. 63-777) includes a large selection of cases adjudicated by the New York Mayor's Court from 1674 to 1748. They are grouped under the headings: Jurisdiction, Procedure, Persons, Forms of Action, Commercial Law, Maritime and Admiralty Business, Quasi-Equity Business, and Crime. Legal scholars will be in accord in concluding that the volume represents great scholarly effort and has produced an invaluable collection of representative cases. Some minor differences of opinion may arise as to the relative emphasis of the grouping of cases, particularly the emphasis upon Procedure and the few cases under the heading of Crime. However, it must be said in fairness that perhaps the most important influence of this court in American Law is in this particular field of procedure.

The influence of this collection will extend beyond the sphere of legal historians, for it contains varied and rich source material for profitable study by all American historians, particularly students of American economic and social history. Such interesting material comprises proceedings relative to price-fixing, many cases involving the law of apprenticeship, arbitration, naturalization and poor-relief, as well as accounts of a few criminal trials. The work deserves its place as the second volume in the notable series of American Legal Records. (ROBERT J. WHITE.)

PEERS, E. ALLISON (Ed.), *The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross.* Vol. II, *The Spiritual Canticle and Poems.* Translated from the critical edition of P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C. D. (London, Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1934, pp. 470.) This well-printed volume is a new translation which takes into account recent discoveries of manuscripts of the original Spanish text, and likely to satisfy students of St. John of the Cross because of its ample annotations and numerous references to the various texts. (L. M. O'H.)

SIMMS, REV. P. MARION, Ph. D., *The Bible in America.* (New York, Wilson-Erickson, 1937, pp. xxiv, 394.) The Rev. Dr. Simms has written an interesting successor to Wright's *Early Bible in America*, out of print for thirty years. In keeping with his sub-title, "Versions that Have Played Their Part in the Making of America," he prefaces his account of the printing of historic Bibles by a preliminary chapter on the settlement of America. An interesting second chapter then reconstructs the probable chronological order in which the various versions came to this country. The Norsemen and the Spanish missionaries are in the first place, with the Latin Vulgate; the Jesuits share honors with the Huguenots with French versions; the fourth English Bible was probably, on the word of Gilmary Shea, the Rheims-Douay. This chapter is full of historical probabilities, of course, for much documentary evidence is lacking; but the scheme gives the author an ingenious opportunity to recount the history of all the famous versions of Scripture. In the chapter on "Some Important Bibles Published in the Early Republic," the work of Mathew Carey, Eugene Cummiskey, John Doyle, Edward Dunigan, D. & J.

Sadlier, and Patrick Donahue is given full mention. Unfortunately, however, this section is marred by many typographical and other slips. Cummiskey is twice spelled Cumminsky; Doyle's name is given as Dodge; Hewett's name is spelled Hewitt; Fielding Lucas is not mentioned at all; Leavitt is called a Catholic publisher (his "Rheims Testament" was an anti-Catholic tract); and worst of all, of Carey it is said: "He had finally abandoned the Catholic faith." Finotti, whom he quotes in these pages, told him (page 269) that Carey died attended in his last moments "by his intimate friend, the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty, O. S. A., and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Gartland." The fact that Carey made more money from his forty-nine Protestant editions of Scripture (with the help of his chief salesman, Parson Weems) than he did from his four Catholic ones, may have misled Dr. Simms. It is also true, of course, that Carey's descendants (among them H. C. Lea) lived outside the Church. To anyone acquainted, however, with much Protestant writing on the Bible, Dr. Simms' even-mindedness toward the Catholic Church is very refreshing. Full credit is given Catholics for their tremendous contributions to preserving and spreading versions of Scripture, even if in one place the author uncritically accepts the often-repeated statement that the Church as such opposed the rendering of the Bible into the vernacular. The twenty-five languages into which the Bible in whole or in part had been translated before the invention of printing; the twenty-two different translations, and the eighteen German editions, printed before Luther printed his New Testament, all of which he loyally reports, force him into the illogical conclusion that the publishers of these editions acted in defiance of the Church, instead of into the obvious one. In spite of this, however, and of a too-easy acceptance of other myths (as on the winning of Oregon) Dr. Simms is to be congratulated on an interesting and on the whole scholarly piece of popular history. (WILFRID PARSONS, S. J.)

SIMPKINS, FRANCIS B., and PATTON, JAMES W., *The Women of the Confederacy*. (Richmond and New York, Garrett and Massie, Incorporated, 1936, pp. 306, $3.00.) This volume dedicated to the memory of two Confederate women, describes the attitudes and activities of Southern women during the Civil War and in the periods immediately preceding and following that bloody contest. The authors, professors in Southern colleges, have based their work to a considerable degree upon material found in collections of letters and in diaries of Confederate women, but have supplemented this by information gleaned from memoirs, reminiscences, and some secondary sources. According to the testimony presented, women of the South were more eager for war than were the men of the section, and throughout the conflict the morale of the army was sustained by the faith and enthusiasm of the women, while after Appomattax, grief and disappointment made it more difficult for Southern women to adjust themselves to changed conditions than for survivors of the campaigns. The treatment is not geographic; that is, source material is not classified as having come from a certain state; rather theses are stated and quotations and examples from various sections are brought in to sustain the argument. The mass of quotations from unclassified sources is sometimes conflicting, sometimes confusing, but despite these shortcomings, the result is

an interesting account of a tragic period, an account which enables the reader more readily to understand the feeling of bitterness toward the conquering Northerner which remains even today in some sections of the Southland. Sixteen illustrations add to the interest of the monograph which is well documented. The summary paragraphs at the end of all but the last chapter are models of recapitulation. A descriptive bibliography of seven pages directs attention to numerous collections of private papers, memoirs, etc., in manuscript and in printed form. (SISTER MARY RAMONA MATTINGLY.)

TOWLE, DOROTHY S. (Ed.), *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716-1752.* [*American Legal Records*, Volume III], with an Introduction by Charles M. Andrews. (Washington, D. C., American Historical Association, 1936, pp. 595.) This third volume amply fulfils the editorial requirements (Volume I, forword) established by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund, under whose auspices the *American Legal Records* are published. While the text of the court records will more particularly arouse the interest of the historian of American legal tradition and practice, nevertheless, the introduction, written by Professor Andrews, may prove to be the most valuable contribution of this volume to the student of American colonial history. In a comparatively short essay, the neglected question of colonial admiralty throughout the English colonies is adequately summarized. For the first time, the hiatus between the admiralty practise of the United States and England is now shown to hinge upon the colonial period. Dr. Andrews destroys several of the historic beliefs regarding colonial vice-admiralty courts. To select at random, the dean of colonial historians treats of the conflicts between common and civil law jurisdictions in England and in the colonies during which the admiralty failed to demonstrate its all-powerfulness. The long emphasized animosity of the colonial attitude towards the vice-admiralty courts is minimized by the courts' absolute utility. The interest of the vice-admiralty courts in colonial breaches of the trade acts is shown to have been less important than has generally been maintained. The recently discovered admiralty papers of New York (*Amer. Hist. Review*, XLII [January, 1937], 258) would alter the statement (p. 30) regarding wage litigations within that colony. This introduction is not only a distinct contribution to colonial history but is doubly significant since it indicates a neglected field wherein additional research may be profitably expended. Due to space limitations the editor was compelled to select her textual materials rather than publish the vice-admiralty records of Rhode Island in their entirety. Exemplification of vice-admiralty procedure and the oral evidence upon which the decrees were based are the factors which determined inclusion. The notes preceding each case provide an invaluable addition to the text; the legal issue involved and the requisite facts are therein resumed. The majority of the cases included date from 1742, when Rhode Island secured its own admiralty judge. Miss Towle has written a short introduction on the Rhode Island vice-admiralty court, which summarizes the external history of the court's establishment. The procedure of that tribunal and the type of cases within its jurisdiction are also briefly but succinctly detailed. Rhode Island's colonial agent was Richard Partridge, not William (p. 89). An appendix contains a typical example of the admiralty papers which are not included: libel, oath, citation,

interrogatory and claims. A table of cases and an extended index facilitate the volume's reference utility. (EDWARD P. LILLY.)

WALSH, MARY ELIZABETH, *The Saints and Social Work.* (Silver Spring, Maryland, The Preservation of the Faith, 1936, pp. 199, $2.00.) This book consists of a series of contrasts between the charities of the saints and naturalistic non-religious philanthropy. Twenty-five saints or *beati*, all of relatively recent times, form the basis of the study. The author says some very favorable things about social work, its scientific technique and efficient organization. She admits that it has made some useful contributions, and suggests that its discoveries be made the most of. What she finds fault with is the limitations of social work. Its horizon is narrow, its organized work bound to the material. Christian charity, on the other hand, reaches the soul as well as the body. It is fired by something infinitely stronger than mere human sympathy, namely, the charity of Christ. It reaches into important fields unknown to social work and is more effective in the fields that are common to both.

Dr. Walsh asserts that the major motive of her work is the development of "a successful synthesis between scientific techniques and the theological virtue of Christian charity." She seems to find such a synthesis lacking in some measure even in the case of Catholic workers. Speaking of "our Christian social work," she says: "At the present time we attach too much importance to secondary techniques and methods, and place little emphasis on the spirit of charity" (p. 150). Perhaps this book is destined to help remedy this situation. Certainly one cannot quarrel with the oft-repeated view that the closer the social worker will be able to imitate the saints, the more significant will be her work. Nor can one have anything but sympathy for the fine spirit of idealism that runs through the volume. There is need for bringing about again a closer union of the natural and supernatural in everyday life, and what better place to begin than in the field of charity?

Viewing the volume as a thesis, however, the stickler for scientific work will undoubtedly find some basis for criticism. In general, it is safe to say the statements with regard to social work are hardly as well supported by evidence as are those regarding the charity of the saints. Then, too, the emphatic way in which the author expresses her conclusion at times, and the occasional exhortations running through the text, do look a bit peculiar in a thesis. Indeed, these last mentioned considerations, plus constant references to the heroism of the saints, may leave the reader with an impression of a certain undefineable extremism running through the volume. To this reader's mind it repeatedly brought the thought that after all the evangelical counsels and the heroic generally is spiritual pabulum for the few, while the faithful observance of the Commandments is meat for the many. (EDGAR SCHMIEDELER, O. S. B.)

WILGUS, A. CURTIS (Ed.), *Colonial Hispanic America.* (Washington, The George Washington University Press, 1936, pp. ix, 690.) This is Volume IV of the "Studies in Hispanic American Affairs," embodying the series of lectures which were delivered during the Fourth Seminar Conference at The George Washington University in the summer of 1935. Five of the nineteen

chapters deal with background matters; three with political, social, and economic factors; three with international relations; and five with movements for independence. The nine Appendixes (pp. 519-662) treat more specific topics and serve to round out and complete the picture. Though naturally not all the lectures are of equal value and importance in point of historical scholarship, the volume as a whole is a notable contribution and deserves praise and commendation. It bespeaks the fine scholarship and untiring zeal of Doctor Wilgus who, in addition to contributing the five bibliographical studies (pp. 573-662), directed the Seminar Conference and edited the series of lectures in their present durable and handsome form. All engaged in the study of Hispanic American history should have a copy of this work for ready reference. They will derive information as well as inspiration from its pages. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

WILLIAMS, MICHAEL, with the collaboration of JULIA KERNAN. *The Catholic Church in Action.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 358, $2.50.) The public has had time to become acquainted with Mr. Williams' book and is well pleased with it. Ross Hoffman calls it "an excellent and authoritative work," "an encyclopedic survey of the whole terrestrial action of the Church." That such well deserved recognition was earned by no small amount of painstaking investigation, one may well conclude from the comprehensive bibliography in Latin, French and English included in the volume. The title, The Catholic Church in Action, may not be the one to indicate most accurately the contents of the work. It suggests the program of the Church Militant, whereas the objective functioning of the Church as an institution is the matter under consideration. An inquirer seeking information in regard to Roman congregations, tribunals, offices and papal commissions, the diplomatic service of the Church, and such administrative details, will find here a rich fund of well organized, clearly stated, non-controversial matter for his satisfaction. Few laymen are equipped to do the subject the justice that it finds at Mr. Williams' hands. Careless proofreading is responsible for the presence of a few incorrect Latin constructions in quoted phrases as well as a slip or two in English construction. (LINDA MALEY O'HARA.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Protohistory: the Birth of a New Science. H. C. E. Zacharias (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April).

Man the Maker of Historical Cycles. J. T. Adams (*Aryan Path*, June).

Currents of Thought in Historiography. C. A. Beard and Alfred Vogts (*American Historical Review*, April). See editorial comment in *Thought*, June.

History in the Making. Charles Peers (*History*, March).

Historians in the Making. W. J. Blyton (*Quarterly Review*, April). Gibbon, Newman, and Green.

The Catholic Philosophy of History. J. J. O'Connor (*Light*, April).

History, Fiction or Fact? E. H. Moore (*Social Science*, April).

History for a Democracy. R. C. Binkley (*Minnesota History*, March).

Basic Concepts for Instruction in History. Helen A. Hutton (*Social Studies*, May).

Utopian States and Experimental Colonies. D. C. O'Grady (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottowa*, VII, no. 1).

The Five-Fold Growth of Theology: Catholicism and Liberalism. (*London Times Literary Supplement*, May 1). A bibliographical article.

The Crisis of Christianity. N. A. Berdyaev (*Christendom*, Spring).

The Church, Catholic and Protestant. C. C. Morrison (*Christendom*, Spring).

The Sacrament of Baptism in the Early Church. J. I. Schade (*Ecclesiastical Review*, May).

The Coronation of Christian Kings. F. Cabrol (*Dublin Review*, April).

Die vollständige Kampfschrift Bernolds von St. Blasien gegen Berengar: *De veritate corporis et sanguinis domini*. Heinrich Weisweiler, S. J. (*Scholastik*, 12, 58-93). On the basis of newly-discovered MSS.

Zur Datierung der beiden Fassungen des vierten Kapitels de Unitate Ecclesiae. Othmar Perler (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 44, 1-44).

Origen and His Generation (185-254). Archbishop Alban Goodier (*Month*, June).

Les premières origines des congrégations mariales, dans la compagnie de Jésus. Émile Villaret, S. J. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, VI, 25-57).

Les origines de l'exemption des religieux. René Latrémouille, O. M. I. (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, January-March).

The First Four Councils. J. J. O'Connor (*Light*, May).

Das Gebetbuch in der Zeit der katholischen Restauration. Alois Schrott, S. J. (*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 61, 1-28).

The Renascence of Islam. William Thomson (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).

The Orthodox Eastern Church. Donald Attwater (*Month*, June).

The Eastern Churches and Rome, II. Floyd Keeler (*Light*, April).

Modern Russian Historiography. A. G. Mazour (*Journal of Modern History*, June).

L'organisation militaire des croisés en Terre-Sainte. Ch. Martin, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

Glaube und Erkenntnis im zweiten Buch der Stromata des Klemens von Alexandrien. Karl Prümm, S. J. (*Scholastik*, 12, 17-57).

The Church in Mexico To-Day. Walter M. Langford (*Catholic World*, June).

La persecución religiosa después de la Independencia, III. J. G. Gutierrez (*Christus*, June). Mexico.

L'épopée normande aux Indes Occidentales. Henry de Lalung (*Canada Français*, March).

The Spanish Friars in the Philippines. D. M. Cummings, C. SS. R. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May).

Portugal in America. P. A. Martin (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, May). Presidential address before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Libraries and Archives for Historical Research in Ecuador. Richard Pattee (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, May).

Jesuitas do Brasil na fundação da missão do Paraguay. Serafim Leite, S. J. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, VI, 1-24).

Attività scolastica dei Gesuiti nel Giappone darante i secole XVI-XVII. Doroteo Schilling, O. F. M. (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, March).

EUROPEAN

Posterity and the Hereafter in Eighteenth-Century French Thought. Robert R. Palmer (*Journal of Modern History*, June).

The French Plebiscite of 1870 and the Catholics. J. W. Pickersgill (*English Historical Review*, April).

Un prélat germanisateur dans l'Alsace française: Mgr. Ruess, évêque de Strasbourg. Ernest Hauviller (*Revue Historique*, January-March).

The Catholic Church in Spain. Orlando Martinez (*Truth*, April).

The Basque Nationalists. O. B. McGuire (*Thought*, June).
Katholischer Nationalismus in Flandern. Jakob Overmans, S. J. (*Stimmen der Zeit*, April).
Les résultats de la bataille de Bouvines et l'exécution du traité de Melun par la Flandre, 27 juillet 1214-12 avril et 31 décembre 1226. G. Doudelez (*Revue des questions historiques*, 65, 22-62).
The Lombard Cities, Empire, and Papacy in a Cleveland Manuscript. Eva M. Sanford (*Speculum*, April).
The Early Years of the Episcopal See of Utrecht. P. C. Van der Hiel (*American Church Monthly*, June).
Otto von Freising und Friedrich Barbarossa. E. F. Otto (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXXI, 27-56).
Die Kirche als Corpus Christi mysticum beim jungen Luther. Wilhelm Wagner (*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 61, 29-98).
Au seuil d'un Kulturkampf. Pierre Delattre, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May).
Religion in Germany. F. Moulder (*Contemporary Review*, June).
The Church in Germany and Austria. C. F. Melville (*Dublin Review*, April).
The Vatican and the World War. Count Sforza (*Contemporary Review*, June).
Was the Renaissance really Italian? A. S. Riggs (*Catholic World*, April).
Doctrina de Francisco de Vitoria sobre las relaciones entre la iglesia y el estado y fuentes de la misma. V. Beltrán de Heredia, O. P. (*La ciencia Tomista*, 56, 22-39).
Marsilius von Padua und die Genesis modernen Staatsbewusstseins. Richard Scholz (*Historische Zeitschrift*, band 156, heft 1).
Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Adels im Ausgange des 10. Jahrhunderts. O. Gerstenberg (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXXI, 1-26).
St. Leo and the Liturgy. J. D. Crichton (*Clergy Review*, December).
Pope Paul III and the American Indians. Lewis Hanke (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).
Pietro Napoleone Bonaparte e Gregorio XVI. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, May 15).

BRITISH EMPIRE

The Place of American History in English Education. H. H. Bellot (*History*, March).
The Coronation Oath. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, April).
Wesminster Abbey and the Coronation Service. L. E. Tanner (*History*, March).
Catholics and the Woolsack. R. V. Cusack and Derek Harbord (*Dublin Review*, April).
The "Lost" Sirmond Manuscript of Bede's *Computus*. C. W. Jones (*English Historical Review*, April).
Quaint Easter Customs. John Murray (*Month*, April).
Clergy in the Easter Parliament, 1285. H. G. Richardson and George Sayles (*English Historical Review*, April).
Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in England, 1660-1767. C. F. Mullett (*Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, June).
An Internuncio in England, 1830-31. Nicholas J. Kelly (*Dublin Review*, April). Msgr. Francesco Capaccini.
The Authorship of the *Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum*: a Suggestion. E. J. Jones (*Speculum*, April). John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph.
A Martyr for Christian Unity. W. E. C. Harrison (*Christendom*, Spring). St. Thomas More.
Nicholas Cardinal Wiserman, 1802-1865. Brendan Larnen (*Dominicana*, March).
Bristol in History. W. Randolph (*Month*, May).
The Scottish Hierarchy in 1560. C. G. Mortimer (*Clergy Review*, December).
Glory that Was Ireland. P. J. Duffy (*Magnificat*, March).

A Seigneury of New France. Emma L. Coleman (*New England Quarterly*, March).

Un bon ami de Mgr. Plessis [Robert Lester]. (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, November).

L'Abbé de Requeleyne, chanoine de Québec, 1690-1724. (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, November).

Mgr. Lartigue et les troubles de 1837, III. León Pouliot, S. J. (*Canada Français*, March).

John Bede Polding, XII. J. J. McGovern (*Australasian Catholic Record*, April).

UNITED STATES

The Pulitzer Prize in History. Bernard De Voto (*Saturday Review of Literature*, March 13).

The Dutch Archives and American Historical Research. Engel Sluiter (*Pacific Historical Review*, March).

Social Problems in American History Textbooks. Michael Levine (*Social Studies*, April).

The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America. Jaime Cortesão (*Geographic Journal*, January). The Portuguese hypothesis.

Lithobolia: the Story of a New England Poltergeist. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, May). Diabolic manifestations in the colony of New Hampshire.

Burning the Charlestown Convent. R. A. Billington (*New England Quarterly*, March).

Pennsylvania: a Study in Religious Diversity. Robert Fortenbaugh (*Pennsylvania History*, April).

Father Jacques Marquette: a Tercentenary Tribute. Louise P. Kellogg (*Catholic World*, June).

Apostle of the Four Lakes. C. A. Bachhuber (*Salesianum*, April). Fr. Adelbert Inama, 1798-1879.

The Mystery of Wizard Clip. Michael Bede (*Truth*, May). The famous story of Smithfield, W. Va.

Catholics in the South. Richard Reid (*Preservation of the Faith*, April).

Denver's Pioneer Academy. Sr. M. Lilliana Owens, S. L. (*Colorado Magazine*, May). St. Mary Academy.

Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 (continued). F. V. Scholes (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April).

The Red River Amnesty Question. J. A. Jonasson (*Pacific Historical Review*, March). Gives efforts of Bishop Taché and Father Ritchot on behalf of Métis claims.

Catholic Women Writers: Who was our First? T. F. Meehan (*America*, June 5). Mother Seton.

Maurice Francis Egan: Writer, Teacher, Diplomat. T. F. Meehan (*America*, April 3).

The Mal-Education of Henry Adams. H. F. Blunt (*Catholic World*, April).

Another Roosevelt: James Roosevelt Bayley. M. P. Kelly (*Light*, June).

Joseph Projectus Machebeuf. Sr. M. Lilliana Owens (*New Mexico Historical Review*, April).

Why Bryan Mullanphy Left a Fortune for the Relief of Emigrants (*Missouri Historical Review*, April).

Father Jessing (1836-1899). J. C. Plumpe (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April, May, June).

Memoirs of Lurana Mary Francis, Mother Foundress of the Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement (continued). E. U. Lex (*Lamp*, April, May, June).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW.)

Abbott, Wilbur Cortez, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 759, $5.00).

Ault, Warren O., *Europe in the Middle Ages* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1937, pp. xi, 730, $3.48).

Baron, Salo Wittmayer, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937, Vol. I, pp. 377, Vol. II, pp. 462, Vol. III, pp. 405).

Beach, Susan Hicks, *A Cardinal of the Medici* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. ix, 411, $3.00).

Belloc, Hilaire, *An Essay on the Nature of Contemporary England* (New York: Sheed & Ward, pp. xi, 91, $1.25).

Brebner, John Bartlett, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York: Columbia University Press, pp. xv, 338, $4.00).

Burns, J. A., Kohlvrenner, B. J., and the Most Rev. John B. Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937, pp. x, 295, $3.20).

Butler, Ruth Lapham, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Edward A. Ayer Collection* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1937, pp. vii, 295, $5.00).

Catholic Who's Who: 1931 (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1937, pp. 670, 6/-).

Chinard, Gilbert, *Le Voyage de Lapérouse sur les Côtes de L'Alaska et de la Californie: 1786* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. xlvii, 144, $3.00).

Citoleux, Marc, *Le Vrai Montaigne: Théologien et Soldat* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1937, pp. 313).

Cook, Arthur Norton, *Readings in Modern and Contemporary History* (New York: D. Appleton–Century Co., 1937, pp. xvii, 361, $2.50).

Culver, Dorothy Campbell, *Methodology of Social Science Research: a Bibliography* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1936, pp. v, 159, $2.00).

Davies, Godfrey, *The Early Stuarts: 1603-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xvi, 452, $5.00).

Devane, James, *Isle of Destiny The Clash of Cultures* (Dublin: Brown & Nolan, pp. 256, 3/6).

Dols, J. M. E., *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie* (Nijmegen: N. V. Centrale Drukkerij, 1937, pp. 29).

Deutsch, Docteur J., *Ou en est actuellement l'Affaire de Konnersreuth* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1937, pp. 55, 8 fr.).

Faulker, Harold Underwood, *American Political and Social History* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937, pp. xxii, 772).

Ghesquière, Dom Theodore, *Mathieu de Castro, premier Vicaire Apostolique aux Indes: Une Creation de la Propagande a ses Débuts* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1937, pp. 149).

Godden, G. M., *Communist Operations in Spain* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1936, pp. 24).

Hanke, Lewis, *Pope Paul III and the American Indians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. 37).

Hussey, J. M., *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire: 867-1185* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 259, $4.25).